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ABSTRACT

This report provides an analysis of the role and status of women in the United States. A review of feminism includes a discussion of sex discrimination, the legal background of the movement for liberation and equal rights, early moves for protection and equality, and the current status of the womens' movement. The role of legislation and of the Federal government in initiating changes in the legal and economic status of women is outlined. The role of women in education is discussed in relation to decentralization of school systems, the trend to demand more education, equalization of educational opportunities, special programs for minorities and other disadvantaged groups, and Federal government intervention in problems of sex discrimination in the schools. A profile of the working woman is given in a discussion of women in the work force. Other topics that are addressed include employment trends, opportunities and options for women, the status of women in different professions, differing unemployment rates, patterns of job discrimination, and ways that employment discrimination has been fought. Future perspectives for improving women's social and economic status are considered. (Author/AM)

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REPORT *on* WOMEN *in* AMERICA

The United States National Commission for UNESCO

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Preface

The United Nations and its specialized agencies have worked consistently toward the improvement of the status of women and on behalf of women's rights. The U.N. Development Program has issued an excellent set of guidelines on women in development. The Food and Agriculture Organization has held training programs and seminars calling attention to the fact that integration of rural women in development is one of the priorities of its program of work. The International Labor Organization has, among other things, written a book outlining international basic needs strategy against chronic poverty which deals with the problems of women in the work force. The U.N. Commission on the Status of Women has worked for years to improve the status of women worldwide.

From its earliest days the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has worked for the advancement of women. The activities have taken various forms: collaboration with women's nongovernmental organizations, educational projects, seminars, and studies on the access of girls and women to all levels and types of education and literacy training. Studies have also been undertaken or encouraged, particularly on the status of women in various Asian countries, women's participation in political life, and television and the social education of women. From 1967-68 a long-term program was launched to facilitate women's access to education and to scientific and technical careers, and to study the socioeconomic obstacles to such access.

In 1973 the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, a 100-member advisory body to the U.S. Government, established a special task force to facilitate its participation in International Women's Year (1975) and to intensify the work of UNESCO on behalf of women. The Task Force and, in addition, an advisory group of representatives from both the public and private sectors developed an omnibus resolution to stimulate UNESCO's efforts to improve the status of women and guarantee adequate participation in International Women's Year (IWY). The resolution was unanimously approved by 26 member states which cosponsored it. Successful adoption by the UNESCO 18th General Conference at Paris in 1974 provided a framework for UNESCO's participation in International Women's Year and the Decade for Women.

IWY stimulated a number of new programs and an in-depth study of UNESCO's efforts to improve the status of women. A 22-country study and information exchange program on innovative measures in member states to improve the status of women was another outgrowth of the year. The new exchange program was established by UNESCO's Division of Equality of Opportunity for Women as one of several activities to be carried out as part of the U.N. Decade for Women (1976-85). UNESCO's mandate provides for an interdisciplinary and multilateral approach to integrating women into the development process.

In planning the program UNESCO recognized that information on women's achievements was not readily available in many areas of the world. It recognized that a successful and meaningful exchange between women of different countries would depend upon concise and comparable documentation. UNESCO National Commissions of the seven host countries (Brazil, Ghana, Japan, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and the United States) were asked to prepare an inventory of experience regarding the status of women. The *Report on Women in America* is based on material in the IWY inventory which emphasized innovative methods of improving women's position in society.

In 1976 the United States, as one of 7 host countries from among the 22 participating countries, welcomed 2 distinguished women from UNESCO's member states (Cecelia Marchand, a lawyer and diplomat from Peru, and Parivash Manuchehri, an educator from Iran) to exchange information and experiences in the development of measures relating to improving the status of women. UNESCO grants enabled 14 women to travel in the 7 host countries for 1 month to observe firsthand key centers of activity and to exchange information on new models and methods to improve the status of women.

It is hoped this *Report on Women in America* will provide foreign visitors to our country a greater understanding of the role and status of women in the United States.

Sarah Goddard Power
Chairperson
U.S. National Commission
for UNESCO

Acknowledgments

Compilation of the inventory and *Report on Women in America* involved the participation of many individuals, most of whom took time from their busy schedules to supply information in their areas of expertise in the field of women's rights. Some spent many hours drafting and rewriting the specific sections for which their Federal agency or organization is responsible.

The following individuals deserve special recognition and appreciation: Carol Bonosaro, Mary Alves Busby, Mary Jane Dillon, Arvonne Fraser, Nancy Freeman, Shirley Hendsch, Grace Hewell, Shirley Joseph, Frances Magrabi, Mildred Marcy, Kitty Moon, Florence Perman, Sarah Goddard Power, and Morag Simchak.

Once the inventory was completed and forwarded to UNESCO Headquarters, Paris, for translation and circulation to member states, it was distributed in the United States, accompanied by a questionnaire. We are grateful for the numerous responses from the community at large and the additional assistance from Federal agency representatives in reviewing pertinent sections as well as updating the statistics.

Susan Wagner, a Washington writer, then incorporated the many suggestions and rewrote the inventory as a handbook for the general public and foreign visitors. Anne T. Stinson designed the cover and illustration art work.

The production of such a report would not have been possible without the wisdom, patience, and technical skills of Betty Davis of the Commission Secretariat, who coordinated responses to the questionnaire, retyped the many drafts, and collated the various documents.

The U.S. National Commission for UNESCO extends its deep gratitude to all those who helped create the *Report on Women in America.*

Barbara J. Good
Secretariat Project Director

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Status of Women Committee

The views expressed in this publication issued by the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO do not necessarily reflect U.S. Government policy.

Contents

	Page
Preface	iii
Acknowledgments	v
1. Women in American History	1
A Nation of Immigrants	1
An Independent Spirit	2
The Patriarchal Tradition	3
2. The Women's Movement	5
The Legal Background	5
Early Moves for Protection and Equality	6
Sexism and Racism	6
Women Win the Vote	7
"Women's Liberation"	7
A Coalition for Change	8
3. Combating Discrimination (An Overview)	11
A Legal Framework	11
Federal Government as Partner	11
Antidiscrimination Laws and Procedures	12
Is Sex Blindness Enough?	13
4. Women and Education	15
A Decentralized System	15
Rising Levels of Education	16
Barriers to Equal Opportunity	16
Equalizing Opportunity	17
Research in a Changing World	18
Lifelong Education	19
Special Programs for Minorities and the "Disadvantaged"	20
Federal Action To Counter Sex Discrimination	20
Signs of Progress	22
5. Women and Work	23
The Working Woman — A Profile	23
Fewer Options for Women	25
Lower Pay for Women	27
Educational Attainment and Employment	28
Women in Science	28
Women in the Arts and Humanities	29
Military Service	30
The Role of Labor Unions	30
Wall Street and Corporate Management	31
A Look at the Rural Population	31
Women as Volunteers	33
Differing Unemployment Rates	33
Patterns in Job Discrimination	34
Combating Discrimination in Employment	35
6. An Economic and Social Agenda for Women	37
Fringe Benefits, Pensions, and Social Security	38
Legal and Economic Status of the Homemaker	39
Day Care for Children of Working Mothers	40
Needs of the Elderly	40
Composition of the American Household	40
Poverty Among Women	41
Consumer Credit, Mortgages, and Rental Loans	41
Women and Crime — Myths and Reality	42
Women as Victims of Crime	43
Juvenile Offenders	43
Family Planning	44
7. Future Perspectives for Women	47
Influence of the Media	47
Innovative Approaches to Change	48
Women in the Political Process	49
The Equal Rights Amendment	50
International Women's Year	51
American Women and the World Scene	52
Recommended Additional Reading	53

1. Women in American History

In recent years, there has been a growing awareness of the role of women in American history. Women comprise 51 percent of the population and 53 percent of the voting population. The estimated female population of the United States as of July 1, 1976 totaled 110,177,000. With projected increases in the total population, women are expected to outnumber men by 6.9 million to 7.9 million by the end of the century. And yet, the contributions of women to American society have gone largely unrecognized and unrewarded. Now they are being acknowledged. "Hidden heroines" are being discovered or rediscovered, as historians, many of them women, dig into America's past to take a new look at the Nation's history in light of the women's movement of today.

A young girl growing up in America today will enter a society in a state of change and flux. Questioning and reevaluation are the order of the day. There is no one "American Way of Life." There are many ways of life, for both men and women. A pluralistic tradition and a Federal system of government have nourished individualism and local and regional autonomy. Going back to colonial times and the westward frontier movement, Americans have been living in constantly changing conditions. Today, they continue to move about the country seeking employment opportunities. In all probability, an American woman will live in or near a city today, but she will not stay in one place all her life. She may move from five to seven times. Any profile of America and its women therefore must be seen as one of change.

A Nation of Immigrants

The population of the United States today presents a picture as diverse as the United Nations. It has been drawn from all parts of the globe. This is a nation of immigrants, as has been pointed out frequently. Even the American Indians found their way to the shores of North America in prehistoric times across the Bering Strait from the vastness of the Asian wilderness. Today, the more than 214 million citizens of the United States form a society of diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, social, and economic backgrounds. This diversity has increased, rather than decreased, over time because of the successive waves of immigration from different parts of the world.

There were no women, as far as we know, among the European explorers who first touched land in the New World. But there *were* women among the first European settlers, and they helped carve a nation from a rough and sparsely populated continent, working side-by-side with their husbands, brothers, sisters, and children. The first settlers came from four European cc .ntries. The French approached through what is now Canada and moved along the St. Lawrence River to the Great Lakes. As fur traders and explorers, they moved into the Midwest and South along the Mississippi. The English and Dutch landed on the east coast in small parties and gradually pushed westward across the Appalachian Mountains to the great plateaus and valleys of the Middle West. Traveling a more southerly route, the Spanish settled in Florida, the Caribbean, and Mexico. Moving north from Mexico, they settled in the Southwest and along the Pacific coast, forming the earliest settlements in California, and bringing their culture, their language, and the Spanish style of architecture with them.

The desire for more land and mineral and other natural riches drove the early immigrants westward. The native Americans, called Indians by the first European explorers, had welcomed the immigrants in many areas and taught them to grow corn, their staple food. The Indians had formed some 280 distinct aboriginal societies before the Europeans arrived. But they gradually were driven off their lands, many of them to Indian reservations. Quite early in American history, beginning in the early 17th century, Africans were brought to America by American and European slave traders. Sold at auction on arrival, the Africans were taken by their new American masters, the Southern landowners, to work in the fields and homes of the agrarian South.

From the earliest times, immigrants have migrated north from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and the other countries of the Caribbean and Central and South America. In the 19th century and later, new waves of immigrants came from Europe to escape hunger, poverty, or religious or political persecution. They came in large numbers from Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Scandinavia, Hungary, and Poland. The expanding frontier and rapid economic development created an almost insatiable demand for labor to cultivate the land, exploit the natural resources, build homes, and construct a system of transportation.

Such was the pattern of immigration to the east coast of North America. The West first was settled in a great movement from the East. But later, under restrictive immigration laws, certain groups of Asians began to settle along the west coast. Chinese male laborers were the first of the Asian-Pacific peoples to immigrate to the United States in large numbers. They began arriving in the middle and latter 19th century to work on railroads and in gold mines and agriculture, although restrictive immigration laws prevented women from accompanying them. Groups like the Irish, Germans, and Swedes came to stay permanently, but the Chinese immigrants, followed by Japanese, East Indians, and Filipinos, came as "sojourners" to earn money and return home. Korean immigrants have become the second largest group after the Filipinos in recent years. And most recently, they have been joined by a flow of refugees from Vietnam, the latest large national group to join the historic movement of people to America's shores.

An Independent Spirit

Looking back into American history, the picture of women and their world is not always clear. History has been written largely in terms of men as the movers and leaders. Yet in the earliest colonial settlements women struggled equally with men for survival in a hostile wilderness. Women colonists and pioneers performed the traditional duties of bearing children and caring for them. They also worked on the farm, prepared and preserved foodstuffs, and cared for the health of their families. Recent historical studies have revealed that, to a far greater extent than previously had been supposed, women took over the management of family farms and businesses, created products, and provided services outside the home to support themselves and educate their children. During clashes with the Indians and during the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, women sometimes took up a musket and worked behind the lines to supply their fighting men with the necessities of life.

In the plantation South, some black female slaves worked in the homes of their owners as cooks, nurses, and housekeepers. Most worked at hard labor, however, beside their men in the fields. Among black freedmen of the mid-19th century, a small category prior to the Civil War, men dominated the heavier agricultural work and women worked in their own homes or as domestics in white families.

As the Nation's economy developed, women's work at home became more production-oriented — women produced cloth in their homes for sale in the marketplace. With the invention of the spinning jenney, the expert skill women had acquired as textile makers in their own cottage industries became the foundation of the Industrial Revolution. Women, and often children, went to work in the first textile mills of the New England States. Since the 18th century, when the Industrial Revolution began the transfer of home-centered production to factory production, the kinds of work women performed have multiplied and been transferred out of the home into the larger society.

Margaret Mead, the noted American anthropologist, in a speech on May 7, 1976, at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., said: "The colonial woman and women of 20th century America share certain characteristics, a fierce independence and self-motivation. These traits allowed the colonial woman to withstand the long sea voyages and settlement in the wilderness and in recent years have encouraged her latter-day counterpart to commit herself to cleaning up communities, supporting the schools, and promoting the causes of antislavery, prohibition, women's suffrage, internationalism, and peace . . ."

The Patriarchal Tradition

Despite this record of hard work and achievement, women in early America automatically were assumed to be the property of their husbands. The status of slaves was patterned on the legal status of women and children. With the one exception of American Indians, the great immigrant population came to America from societies with a patriarchal tradition. The United States adopted the pattern that had evolved in Europe for white women. Single women could acquire property rights and had freedom to marry the husband of their choice. But in law and in mores, men dominated the society. They were the legal heads of the family and their wives and children were dependent on them. The black woman was tied to her white master in a pattern of submissiveness in all matters. The Mexican-American woman had her roots planted in America before the Pilgrims boarded the Mayflower to sail for the New World. As a bicultural and bilingual person, she had participated in two worlds. Coming from a predominantly Catholic culture, she was basically dependent and subordinate to her husband and father.

It is difficult to conjure up a picture of American Indian women. Except for a few individual women, such as Pocahontas of Virginia and Sacajawea of the Northwest, the stereotypes of American Indians adopted by the descendants of the European pioneers who conquered the American West applied only to men. If she had a stereotype, the American Indian woman was depicted carrying heavy burdens and moving with the tribe to escape the invading white man. The American Indian woman belonged to an essentially faceless minority. Reading a history book, one might wonder if she actually had existed. The real role of some American Indian women, however, stands in stark contrast to those of Europeans. Some of the aboriginal societies were matriarchal, matrilineal, and matrilocal. They were structured along lines often found among agricultural societies where women were responsible for farming and controlled family matters. Inheritance passed through the female line. Upon marriage, the bride usually brought her groom into her mother's household.

The Asian pioneers who immigrated to the United States in the late 19th century and early 20th centuries were predominantly male. There were several reasons for this. Cultural traditions in China forbade women to travel. The Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Philippine men came as workers to make a quick economic gain and return home. Some remained separated from wives they left behind for generations. Immigration of Asians to the United States is regulated by law. The majority of Asian-American women are still first-generation immigrants. Some came as brides of American servicemen fighting abroad in World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. There is evidence that they have suffered a variety of problems because of cultural differences. Some Asian wives who had been self-directing in their home countries have become helpless and dependent in the United States. Limited in their opportunity for contact outside the home, many women immigrants have suffered from the language barrier more severely than men. But there have been success stories, too. In the Philippine population, for example, the pioneer member of the family has not always been the man. Many women immigrants in recent years have been professionals, thus suggesting that the "brain-drain" phenomenon from the Old World to the New World includes women's brains as well as men's.

2. The Women's Movement

In the last 15 years, the women's movement has had a profound impact on American society. The early skeptics dismissed it as a movement of upper-middle-class women filled with vague ideas about fulfillment outside their traditional role as wives and mothers who wanted to shed their household responsibilities. This did not correspond to the reality. The movement evolved because of basic needs of all women and fundamental changes such as birth control and longer life expectancy. When a majority of more than one-half of a society decides it will no longer tolerate or submit to old ways, things change. When a profound social movement gains worldwide attention and significance, that social movement gains momentum, elicits a variety of responses, and begins to affect almost every citizen. That is what is happening in the United States. Thirty-five of the 38 States needed have ratified the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

Some States debated double standards of citizenship. Laws were changed by legislation and judicial order. Customs, behavior, and values began to change. Now there are women — sometimes only "tokens" — in formerly sacrosanct male positions — the U.S. Cabinet, university presidencies, police departments, bank and corporate industrial boards of directors, and even in the military service academies.

In little more than a decade in the United States, legislation has been passed banning sex discrimination in almost every aspect of employment and education. The Supreme Court has decided that women have control over their own bodies in the early stages of pregnancy, even though lower courts and legislative bodies have denied public funds to pay for abortions. Other concepts of dependency and unequal status of women have been struck down by the courts. In recent years, outspoken feminists have compelled the courts and legislatures to view the role of women in a different perspective. Through the courts, they have demanded equal protection of the laws and vindication of their fundamental constitutional rights. The achievement of full opportunities for women is still blocked, however, by social, economic, legal, and political barriers — many of which are sanctioned by law.

The full impact of the women's movement will not be known until the next generation of women, the teenagers of today, make their demands on the world. But the movement is a fact of life in America today Many observers have, in fact, been amazed by the strength of the movement. The eminent American historian Henry Steele Commager has pointed to the movement as an example of the vitality in American society.

The Legal Background

The inferior status of women, tolerated and accepted as natural throughout the world for centuries, has a basis in the U.S. legal system. In the common law in-

herited and adapted from the English, women were accorded few rights, none of them substantial. For example, women were not allowed to enter into contracts, hold property, or take legal action.

The tradition of law, freedom, and equality was proclaimed in the American Declaration of Independence which marked the formal beginning of the Revolutionary War against the British. That historic Declaration established the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as the inalienable right of all mankind — a right which is taken for granted today by Western civilization. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed that all men are created equal. But the word "men" was taken literally, resulting in the principle that women were created unequal.

The Constitution established the American form of government with its separation of powers into three branches — legislative, executive, and judicial. These branches are represented by the Congress, the President, and the courts. The Bill of Rights, a series of 10 amendments to the Constitution, spelled out certain protections for individual liberty and free expression. However, women's rights were not established explicitly. The Continental Congress which drew up the American Constitution included only white males for purposes of voting and taxes.

Against this background, the issue of legal rights for women has been debated throughout American history. These debates have focused on political and employment rights. But discrimination has been practiced against women in public accommodations and facilities, public education, criminal laws and the administration of justice, tax and retirement benefits, consumer credit, mortgage finance, insurance, property rights, and rental and finance contracts. In short, discrimination against women has existed in every facet of American life, despite fundamental guarantees of human rights in the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

Early Moves for Protection and Equality

It was not until the 19th century that women began to question their position as second-class citizens. Although women had a certain status because of their economic contributions, they had no legal rights in most States. In 1848 a convention was called in Seneca Falls, New York, which was the first organized, collective effort in human history on behalf of women's rights. Out of that convention, the American feminist movement emerged. As a result of moves for improved working conditions in the factories, seven States approved laws limiting working hours for children in 1853. But it was nearly 1880 before the first enforceable "hours laws" for women were enacted. Women formed the National Consumers League in 1899 to help protect the rights of women and children in working situations. It was not until the U.S. Senate published a report on labor exploitation in 1907 that the States seriously began to develop hours laws.

In the meantime, in 1869 the first two women's organizations working for recognition of women's political rights were founded. By 1890 there were 800 activist women's groups. Nineteenth century feminists spoke out and demonstrated against restrictive marriage and family laws and discrimination in education, employment, property rights, and reproductive freedom — to name but a few issues. Throughout these years, feminists perceived the need for political power and influence. They understood that, without the basic right to participate in the political process through exercise of the elective franchise, changes in their status would depend solely on the good will of the men in power and would be painfully slow in coming.

Sexism and Racism

During the struggle for the abolition of slavery in the South leading up to the Civil War, many blacks made common cause with women seeking equality in marriage, property rights, and wages; the right to make contracts, to sue and be sued; to testify in court; and, above all, to vote. One of them was Frederick Douglass. The great abolitionist was quick to point out the parallels between black oppression and female suppression. He allied himself with the feminist movement of that time with the phrase: "Right is of no sex." From the 1840's until his death after the Civil War in 1895, Douglass supported the aspirations of women. But in 1867-68 he broke with feminists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton over the issue of granting voting rights to freed slaves while leaving out women. When the 15th

amendment to the Constitution granting the vote to black men was adopted, feminists were deeply disappointed. Women of all races were still disenfranchised.

The courts have played a decisive role in determining the legal status of both blacks and women. From the famous *Dred Scott* slave case down to the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, blacks have found uneven justice in the courts, although the long-term trend has been toward establishing equality. Similarly, women have suffered from a judiciary unwilling to act on many inequities based on sex. In *Bradwell* v. *Illinois* (1873), for example, the Supreme Court held that women could be denied a license to practice law.

Women Win the Vote

During the congressional debates on the 15th amendment to the Constitution in 1869, Southern Senators attemped to defeat it by including language which would have given women the vote as well as men. The idea was to deny the vote to the blacks by tying it to the then unthinkable prospect of women voting. The tactic set minorities and women against each other. It subsequently has been used by enemies of equality. From the end of the Civil War on, women continued to work for the right to vote, equal educational opportunities, and married women's property acts. These property laws allowed women to hold property, control their own money, and act as guardians of their own children.

Agitation by women finally did lead to legislation giving them the vote. A proposed constitutional amendment on women's suffrage was adopted by the House of Representatives shortly after World War I in 1918 and by the Senate in 1919. It was approved by three-fourths of the States, as all constitutional amendments must be, and thus came into effect in 1920. Article 19 of the Constitution reads: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any States on account of sex. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of the article."

With their 72-year campaign at an end, American women set about to spread the news of their victory among their Latin American sisters. In 1922, they reported on the successful conclusion of their suffrage campaign at the first Pan American Women's Conference to representatives of 20 Latin American countries in Baltimore, Maryland.

Although the right to vote was basic to the achievement of other rights, the 19th amendment could not, in itself, bring about full equality. It was merely a step.

During the several decades following the historic event of 1920, existing laws and practices continued to reflect a subordinate position for women. In the period since the suffrage movement, a wide variety of organizations have worked in various ways to improve women's economic and legal status. Organizations such as the League of Women Voters, the National Women's Party, the American Association of University Women, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the National Association of Women Lawyers, the Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, and women's organizations affiliated with religious groups and labor unions worked to train women in leadership, analysis of political issues, and methods of working with legislatures and city councils to achieve their goals. Half a century after winning the vote, women banded together in local as well as national organizations to organize day-care centers for children of working mothers, women's centers, and educational or political committees. They also sought to emphasize women's concerns in professional organizations. The women's movement, in other words, was unstructured and fragmented in the American tradition of individual and collective effort to bring about change. The women's movement varied from one group to another, from one part of the country to the other, and it was constantly changing.

"Women's Liberation"

The name that has been given to the contemporary struggle for women's rights, "women's liberation," is therefore a new name for an old movement. It is a continuation of a struggle that began long ago and lay dormant but never really died out. For instance, the work of Margaret Sanger and the family-planning movement, which started shortly after World War I and continued for decades, was of the utmost importance to the well-being and emergence of women able to control their own bodies and consequently their lives. Simone de Beauvoir's book on the role of women, *The Second Sex*, had an impact and was read widely when it appeared in translation in the United States in 1952. In 1961, President Kennedy appointed a Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, the first of its kind, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt. Another milestone

was the publication of Betty Friedan's book, *The Feminine Mystique*, in 1963. Friedan, like de Beauvoir, deplored the conditioning of women to play passive roles subject to their sexual and reproductive functions.

These were all important landmarks in the emergence of the contemporary women's movement. In 1962, in Michigan, the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women became the first such State commission. In February 1963, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs adopted as its priority the nationwide establishment of State commissions on the status of women. This effort received bipartisan support and led to cooperation across party lines and among a wide spectrum of women's organizations. By June 1964, when the first national conference of State commissions was held, there were 24 such commissions and by October there were 33. These commissions spread to counties and cities. Passage of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were other important milestones. Then, for the first time, the Federal Government had powerful tools to combat inequality for women in the private sector.

The women's movement really began to capture the public imagination in 1966 when the National Organization for Women (NOW) was founded in Washington. Betty Friedan and the other 27 founding women united because they did not believe the U.S. Government was moving strongly enough to enforce antidiscrimination laws. In August 1967, the first "women's liberation" group, given impetus by the low status of women in the left-wing political and civil rights organizations, was formed in Chicago. Unable to secure attention in male-dominated political movements, women organized to dramatize their cause. In 1968 the media focused on a "street theater" demonstration in Atlantic City designed to satirize the Miss America beauty contest. Although no brassieres were burned as alleged by critics, members of these groups were thereafter called "bra burners" and the term "women's liberation" had been coined. It then was applied to the entire movement.

A Coalition for Change

The women's liberation groups growing out of the civil rights movement of the late 1960's primarily were concerned with consciousness-raising and feminist analysis rather than actively seeking legal and economic reforms. They did not have a national organization. Nevertheless, they exerted an important influence by dramatizing the concerns and goals of the more structured organizations, pursuing reform along a broad spectrum of issues affecting the daily welfare of American women. There is still no one person or organization authorized to speak for women, but there is a genuine consensus among women, a partnership among women in all institutions who want a full share in the governance, responsibilities, and rewards of their society.

Since 1960 a number of new and more aggressive organizations have arisen to express the evolving concerns of women. The National Organization for Women (NOW) was founded in 1966 to further the civil rights of women. The Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), organized in 1968, is a women's rights organization working on the issues of employment, education, the economic rights of women, international affairs, women in the military, and women in sports. The National Women's Political Caucus, organized in 1971, has stimulated participation of women in political parties and election of more women to public office. Puerto Rican, Hispanic, Mexican American, and black women organized new feminist groups in the 1970's. The Coalition of Labor Union Women, established in 1974, works to help women attain greater power in the unions and to extend union organizing activities to more women.

The growth of the movement into a genuine communitywide effort can be seen along a wide front. Since the mid-1960's women have organized in a variety of ways to change their own situation and the world around them. Though it merely skims the surface of developments, the following chronology will indicate the variety of events and activities:

In the early 1960's, three education programs for women were begun at the University of Minnesota, Sarah Lawrence College, and George Washington University, and the first "Women and the Law" course was offered at the University of Pennsylvania. There are now women's studies programs in some 900 institutions. Law courses are widespread and there are several excellent legal texts on women and the law.

In August 1969, women in the American Sociological Association formed the first women's caucus within a professional association. By the end of 1971 nearly every professional association had an activist women's caucus or official commission to study the status of women.

In September 1969, President Nixon established a Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities to propose a wide-ranging legislative program which included many forward-looking recommendations, including the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution.

In December 1969, a women's caucus was formed in the National Council of Churches.

In March 1970, the first State-wide meeting of the AFL-CIO, the labor union coalition, was held in Wisconsin, endorsing ERA. The United Auto Workers soon joined them as the first major union to endorse the proposed Constitutional amendment.

In May 1970, the first women's rights organization in a Federal Government agency was formed by women in the Department of State, the Agency for International Development, and the U.S. Information Agency.

In June-July 1970, hearings on discrimination in education were held in Congress. The report on the hearings is a classic in documenting discrimination.

In August 1970, a nationwide celebration of the 50th anniversary of the suffrage movement was held with participation in all major U.S. cities.

In July 1971, the National Women's Political Caucus was organized with Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, and Congresswomen Bella Abzug and Shirley Chisholm as leaders. Women had already begun to seize the challenge on the legislative front.

In November 1971, the Supreme Court held in *Reed* v. *Reed* that an Idaho law giving preference to males as executors of estates was invalid. This was the first of a series of Supreme Court decisions expanding concepts of due process of law to sex discrimination.

In December 1971, the first issue of *Ms.* magazine was published in New York giving voice to ideas of the women's movement. It was an immediate success.

On March 22, 1972, the Equal Rights Amendment was approved overwhelmingly by Congress and submitted to the States for ratification.

In June 1972, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 was passed prohibiting discrimination on account of sex in most federally assisted educational programs.

In August 1973, the National Black Feminist Organization was organized with Eleanor Holmes Norton, leading attorney and chairperson of the New York Human Rights Commission, as one of the leaders. Ms. Norton was recently named by President Carter to head the Federal Government's Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

In December 1973, the Foreign Assistance Act was amended to administer U.S. foreign aid with a view to integrating women constructively into total national development efforts.

In August 1974, the Housing and Community Development Act was passed prohibiting sex discrimination in carrying out community development programs and in making federally related mortgages.

In October 1974, the Equal Credit Opportunity Act became public law. It prohibits discrimination in credit on the basis of sex and marital status, as well as race and national origin.

In April 1975, the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year was appointed by President Ford.

In 1975, the National Women's Agenda was developed to bring together 100 national groups to make a statement on agreed goals, to develop a plan of action to combat discrimination, and to work on social and economic advancement for women in the United States over the next decade.

3. Combating Discrimination (An Overview)

All levels of government in the United States have been involved to some degree or another in the struggle of women for equal rights and equality of opportunity. But government in America does not *plan* social change—it responds to demands for reform made by citizens or voluntary associations and works with them in charting mechanisms to bring about social change. The great changes that have occurred in the legal and economic status of women in the last 15 years were not initiated by government and it seems unlikely that government will initiate future changes. The shape of the future will be determined by women themselves.

A Legal Framework

Widespread gains have been made through passage of legislation which is now in place. On a national level, this legislation prohibits, among other things, all forms of sex discrimination in employment, education and training, extension of credit, and housing purchase and rental. At the State level, a wide variety of measures also have been adopted to combat sex discrimination. Many of them antedate action by the Federal Government. The complex relationship between Federal and State laws and the wide differences in statutory, judicial, and administrative rules and enforcement provisions have resulted in piecemeal legal enactments and interpretations. This has complicated the struggle to achieve equality for women on a national scale. Recently, Federal agencies involved have exercised the legal right of preemption over State laws in equal opportunity cases. This has clarified the situation somewhat and made enforcement more effective.

Federal Government as Partner

Temporary and permanent offices of Government and advisory panels are now active partners in the process of bringing about change. The Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, established in 1920 to provide economic and legal data, is the oldest. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and individual women in government have supported and interacted with the voluntary organizations. The first Commission on the Status of Women, established by President Kennedy in 1961, called attention to the concerns and needs of women. It was clear that the Commission had responded to a real need when Governors' commissions on the status of women were established in most States within a few years after its creation. The women's organizations spearheaded the drive in the States with technical assistance provided by the Women's Bureau of the Labor Department.

The Women's Bureau holds national and regional conferences that have furnished the primary means of communication among various organizations for many years. It has acted as a catalyst. For example, the Bureau called the organizing meeting of the National Association of Commissions on Women and provided that group with technical aid for a long time. The Bureau has also worked to mobilize women's organiza-

tions behind the upgrading of women within the Government.

The Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, established in November 1963, provided a continuing body of private citizens appointed by the President to advise on the status of women. The interaction between government and private citizens and voluntary organizations is illustrated by its activities. In 1970 the Council recommended adoption of an amendment to the U.S. Constitution—the Equal Rights Amendment—to require equality for men and women. The Council also recommended that employed women be granted childbirth leave with benefits, within the existing framework of the law and the private system of providing fringe benefits. The recommendations of the Council subsequently have been used for court action by organizations seeking elimination of discrimination because of pregnancy. The Council published a paper urging women's organizations to institute studies of sex discrimination in their public schools.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was established by the Civil Rights Act of 1957. That law was amended in 1972 to extend the Commission's jurisdiction to include sex discrimination, in addition to discrimination on the basis of race, religion, color, or national origin. A bipartisan, independent agency, it is charged with reporting on civil rights problems relating to minorities and women and with making recommendations for corrective action to the President and the Congress. Among other things, it has made recommendations designed to safeguard the right of abortion, urged strong enforcement of Federal civil rights laws and policies, and encouraged women in business. Most recently, it has issued a report urging fair portrayal of women on television and equal employment opportunities in the broadcast media.

Antidiscrimination Laws and Procedures

Federal laws prohibiting sex discrimination in education, employment, credit, and housing have been enacted and implementation and enforcement procedures have been established. The antidiscrimination laws enacted since 1973 have come about through the political activities of voluntary organizations.

The 1963 Equal Pay Act was the first of a series of national antidiscrimination laws. It was enacted through the joint efforts of a coalition of women's organizations and unions. The Women's Bureau of the Labor Department was active in promoting passage once it had been endorsed by President Kennedy. The enforcement procedures of the Equal Pay Act are strong. They rely on routine inspections by the Labor Department of an employer's pay practices and inspections based on complaints from individuals. The names of complainants are held confidential by the government to prevent retaliation by employers. All employees found to have been underpaid receive the appropriate redress.

No one law exists which prohibits sex discrimination in all Federally assisted programs. However, several Federal laws and regulations prohibit sex discrimination by recipients of certain Federal assistance and specific programs under Federal control. Although employment sometimes is specifically covered, the prohibition usually applies only to participation in a program or receipt of the benefits of the program. For any discriminatory action, policy, or practice there may be several possible avenues of redress. Filing a complaint under one law or regulation will not necessarily prevent or preclude the necessity of filing a complaint under another. Where agencies have prohibited, by regulations, sex discrimination in Federally assisted programs, they generally use Title VI Civil Rights Act procedures for enforcement. These procedures provide that a complaint may be filed by any person who believes herself, himself, or any group of persons to be subjected to sex discrimination prohibited by agency regulations. Complaints are filed with the appropriate agency having the power and authority to apply sanctions where discrimination is found.

Other Federal laws encourage the development of State and local government personnel merit systems and provide for standards to safeguard the welfare of apprentices. The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 established programs to provide job training and employment opportunities for the economically disadvantaged, unemployed, or underemployed persons. The Department of the Interior oversees a wide variety of programs and provides various types of assistance in such areas as conservation, Indian affairs, recreation, parks, public works, public lands, and natural resources. Discrimination on the basis of sex is illegal in all of these activities. All of these laws have enforcement sanctions written into them providing for complaint and hearing procedures culminating in legal action through the courts if necessary to correct abuses.

Is Sex Blindness Enough?

The first approach to the problems of discrimination was color blindness. The Federal Government felt that the elimination of racial references from application forms would encourage entry of racial minority groups as employees and adoption of a nondiscriminatory or colorblind policy. The Government required industry to eliminate all such references from personnel forms and to adopt a nondiscriminatory or colorblind policy. Over the years, however, it was found that this policy was essentially passive and did not substantially change employment patterns. Companies still recruited from the same white male colleges and universities.

In response to increasing demands from blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, Asians, and then women, the Government moved to a new policy: affirmative action. This policy requires organizations with Federal contracts to be color and sex conscious in their hiring and promotion and to make special efforts to identify female and minority job candidates. Selection on the basis of race and sex is being tested in the courts as discriminatory, but feminists believe that a return to color and sex blindness would represent a victory for white male supremacy.

4. Women and Education

Education has traditionally been considered the gateway to success in America. From the earliest periods of American history, free public education has been regarded as a basic right of all citizens and the key to individual and national development. The history of education in America has seen a steady expansion of educational opportunities for all. As they broke away from English rule, the colonists were quick to establish public schools for boys and girls alike. As they moved westward to settle the country, men and women working together established rough one-room schools on the frontier for their children.

A Decentralized System

The responsibility for providing public education has been assumed or retained by each of the 50 States. Such an assumption of responsibility has been possible through the 10th amendment to the Constitution (1791), which states that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." The Federal Government, however, is not prohibited from assisting in the support and development of education in the respective States and, in fact, does so through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and a number of other governmental agencies.

In the East, the children of the well-to-do sometimes went to privately supported one-sex schools, but in most of the country children of all social and economic groups went to public schools and stayed together until the age of 17 or 18 during this century. There were no divisions along academic and vocational tracks in most school systems. Until quite recently, separate schools for blacks and whites were maintained in the South. This is now illegal, but many schools reflect basically white or black neighborhoods.

Authority for education rests in the States which delegate it to the local communities. In the 50 States, more than 16,000 public school districts now offer free education in nearly 89,000 elementary and secondary schools. Currently, 45 million children attend these public schools, accounting for about 90 percent of elementary and secondary school enrollments. The other 10 percent attend the country's 3,200 independent or 18,600 church-related private schools which operate under State charters.

The local school district—acting through an elected or appointed school board and chief executive officer, the local superintendent of schools—makes school policy and supervises all aspects of the educational process within its jurisdiction, with guidance from the State departments of education.

In higher education, there have been two systems. The first colleges and universities in the East were founded by religious groups and supported by contributions from churches and wealthy individuals and "tuition" fees paid by students. There also grew up a parallel system of public colleges and universities run by State governments for both men and women. Within any particular State, there may be a private university, a State university, and State colleges. In the past, these State colleges have been primarily teacher-training or agricultural institutions. In recent years new junior and community colleges, mostly publicly supported, have been established for students who want some further education when they graduate from high school but not

necessarily a full 4-year course of study. These new community colleges are attracting women in great numbers, especially those in suburban communities where many women are going back to school as their children grow up.

Rising Levels of Education

The availability of free public education for men and women, both rural and urban, has resulted in a high literacy rate in the United States. According to the Bureau of the Census' Current Population Survey of March 1975 (latest data available), 3.2 percent of the total U.S. population was considered illiterate (5 or less years of schooling), breaking down into 3.5 percent for males and 2.9 percent for females. Most States require attendance in school until age 16, and men and women 25 and older now have an average schooling of 12.4 years. Almost two out of every three Americans over age 25 have at least a secondary school education, and one in seven has completed at least 4 years of higher education.

Education has been described as the Nation's largest enterprise. Today it is the major occupation of about 62.2 million people, and approximately $108 million is poured into educational institutions at all levels every year. Included in the 62.2 million are 58.9 million students, 3 million teachers, and about 399,000 superintendents, principals, supervisors, and other instructional staff. That means that in a nation with 214 million people, nearly 3 out of every 10 persons are directly involved in the educational process.

Barriers to Equal Opportunity

Equality of access to education for men and women has been largely achieved at the elementary and secondary school levels. Three out of four girls and boys complete high school. Girls are, in fact, slightly more likely to finish high school than boys. In 1975, 50.8 percent of all students graduating from high school were girls. But the percentage of women participating in education begins to decline with each successive educational level after that. Fewer women than men were enrolled in college in 1975—women constituted 45 percent of the fall enrollment. In 1974-75, women received 45.3 percent of all the bachelor's degrees awarded by colleges and universities, 44.8 percent of the master's degrees, 21.3 percent of the doctorates, and 12.4 percent of first professional degrees.

Research indicates that girls and boys are equally endowed with academic skills and intellectual capacity. The disparity in achievement therefore must be explained in other ways. Long-held attitudes toward the abilities and "seriousness" of women in pursuing an education prevent women from pursuing higher educational goals. The disparity between the sexes in the level of aspiration goes back to early sex-role socialization, lack of adult role models of successful and competent women, and direct or indirect tracking of women into traditionally prescribed occupational roles and courses of study. Women often are conditioned to accept the proposition that femininity, academic achievement, and career development are incompatible, while boys are conditioned to think that masculinity and human fulfillment are identical. Only recently have efforts been made to research these questions and to help women develop attitudes toward achievement in education which will lead them to compete with men in the job world, as institutional barriers are eliminated and job opportunities arise.

The fields in which men and women earned bachelor's degrees in 1974-75 (Table 4-1) provide an indication of the differing careers for which they have trained in the past. These figures for male and female students have remained in relatively the same position for several years.

TABLE 4-1

BACHELOR'S DEGREES AWARDED IN 1974-75 [1]

Discipline Division of Specialty	*Females*	*Males*
Education	137,088	49,535
Letters	37,891	27,434
Sociology	20,582	15,314
Health Professions	32,410	9,459
Fine and Applied Arts	24,103	15,913
Foreign Languages	14,879	4,600
Home Economics	14,879	554
Business and Management	17,481	116,424
Social Work and Helping Services	7,115	2,845
Physical Sciences	3,536	17,751
Anthropology	3,329	2,673
Foreign Area Studies	1,739	1,464
Secretarial Studies	1,847	49
Library Science	1,078	86
Agriculture and Natural Resources	1,576	14,727
Engineering	802	49,891
Computer and Information Sciences	780	3,977
Law	52	442
Genetics	14	32
Nutrition, Scientific	68	28
Military Sciences	1	327

[1]Source: National Center for Educational Statistics.

The number of women earning master's and doctorate degrees has risen sharply in recent years, although women still lag far behind men in terms of total degrees awarded. A similar trend has occurred in first professional degrees, which prepare students to practice law, medicine, and other professions. Table 4-2 indicates the relative numbers of men and women earning first professional degrees in 1974-75.

TABLE 4-2

FIRST PROFESSIONAL DEGREES AWARDED IN 1974-75[2]

Profession	*Females*	*Males*
Law	3,340	25,986
Medicine	1,263	10,093
Theology	277	4,764
Dentistry	85	4,355
Veterinary Medicine	155	1,229
Optometry	33	758
Osteopathy	19	666
Podiatry	4	367
Other	110	312

[2]Source: National Center for Educational Statistics.

Instructional and administrative staffing in the public schools and higher education institutions still reflects the typical sex-role stereotypes. Few women, minority and nonminority, hold administrative positions in elementary or secondary schools and even fewer work at the college level as either administrators or higher ranked faculty. In 1975, 66.3 percent of public school teachers were women, only 14 percent were principals, and 95 percent of the latter were in elementary schools. At the college level, in 1976-77, about 50 percent of the full-time instructors but only 10 percent of the professors were women. Further problems for women at the graduate level have been the limited financial support available through grants, fellowships, or as heads of research projects and, until recently, discriminatory admission policies.

Regardless of economic, social or racial background, girls tend to take fewer scientific or technical courses. Girls in vocational training are concentrated in programs dealing with homemaking, office skills, and health (especially nursing), while boys are enrolled in technical education. As a result, in 1970 half of all women were employed in just 17 occupations, most of them low-paying, but half of all employed men were distributed among 63 occupations, many of them high-paying. This different occupational status stems in large part from the varied goals set forth by society for each sex. Sexual stereotypes have been reinforced in the schools, both by instructional materials that portray women in a limited range of roles, primarily as passive, cautious, dependent persons and by sex segregation in courses of study.

Equalizing Opportunity

As American society has changed, the schools and colleges have been called upon to meet new demands. For generations Americans regarded their school system as a great melting pot and equalizer of differences. In a social system characterized by cultural pluralism, schools were expected to play a key role in imparting national culture and political traditions. Since the 1960's, however, schools also have been asked to achieve equality of educational opportunity for all while preserving diversity of cultural heritage. Since the end of World War II, the Federal Government has been called upon to make contributions to State-supported schools and colleges in carrying out these objectives. The concept of Federal aid to education stirred a great public debate in the late 1940's and 1950's because of the long tradition of State and local autonomy in education. Responsibility for providing educational facilities still rests with State and local government, but major education legislation during the 1960's resulted in significant expansion of the Federal Government's support for education. A variety of programs were developed to meet specific needs of schools and colleges, and today the Federal Government provides about 10 percent of the amount spent on education annually throughout the Nation. Whereas the role of the U.S. Office of Education previously was restricted to the collection of statistics, research, and technical assistance, the Office now administers massive programs through grants and contracts, covering virtually every aspect of American education.

Articulate advocates have worked toward specific changes in educational policy and training, and the leadership exercised by women's groups has stimulated positive steps to correct past and continuing inequities. In the private sector and in government, change is being fostered to make study or training accessible on the basis of interest and ability rather than sex or race. In addition to greater access, educational institutions are being encouraged to provide more opportunities for students to attend school part-time and to provide

child-care facilities so that women with preschool age children can attend. Grants, loans, and scholarships are being made available to women who cannot attend school full-time. Continuing education programs have grown dramatically and have been especially beneficial to women of all ages and stages of life who wish to broaden their horizons and opportunities. The concept of career education has now formalized into new dynamic programs at all levels of education and offers potential for equalizing opportunity and compensating for lack of opportunities.

It has been recognized that many instructional materials used in schools reinforce the traditional sex-role occupational stereotyping of both sex and race. This is being changed through voluntary efforts to encourage new role models for young people.

Colleges and universities are examining admissions policies, attempting to equalize promotion policies and put more women in decisionmaking and policymaking positions. Some corporations have adopted formal training programs for women to enable them to move into managerial and administrative positions. Professional women's organizations are establishing talent banks and rosters to assist educational institutions and industry to identify qualified women. Courses in women's studies have proliferated in high schools and colleges.

Federal offices and agencies directly concerned with improving educational opportunities for adults—both men and women—are actively involved in a wide variety of research and program activities. The Education Division within the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), including the U.S. Office of Education, is the main educational agency in the U.S. Government. It supports numerous projects, some of which are focused on assisting girls and women in achieving their educational and career potentials. Within the Office of Education, the Women's Program Staff administers the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974, which is beginning to create new educational and career options for girls and women. For example, using funds from the Office of Education, Wellesley College, near Boston, Massachusetts, has designed a program to develop alternative approaches, strategies, and programs for girls and women to enter occupational fields where they have been excluded, underrepresented, or included only in stereotyped roles. Through an Office of Education grant, the American Personnel and Guidance Association is developing a training project to assist elementary and secondary school counselors and related educational personnel to recognize and change sex-biased guidance practices and attitudes.

The National Center for Educational Statistics, part of HEW's Education Division, conducted a three-part study of sex discrimination in educational institutions, as mandated by the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974. It reviewed employment practices in public, parochial, and private institutions, guidance and counseling services, and access to various types of programs in postsecondary education. The Center has also published a report on "Barriers to Women's Participation in Postsecondary Education: A Review of Research and Commentary as of 1973-74." The report concerns institutional, social, and psychological variables that raise barriers to women's participation in postsecondary education.

The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education has served as a catalyst for change in postsecondary and other types of education. The Women's Inner City Educational Resource Service Center in Boston, established with a Government grant in 1973, aims to meet the needs of inner-city women who want new careers or decide to return to education. This community-based center, staffed by urban women, acts as a vigorous and independent advocate to upgrade services to urban women and improve the career and educational opportunities of adult women.

Research in a Changing World

In her book, *Male and Female*, published more than 20 years ago in the United States, anthropologist Margaret Mead attempted to break down some stereotypes about men and women. In conclusion, she posed the question of how parents could best educate their children for an uncertain future. There were no hard-and-fast rules American parents could hand down to their children, she concluded. The only certainty was that children should be prepared to meet a world in rapid change. In the meantime, American society has continued to change at an accelerated rate. This change has strained the resilience of individuals and social and political institutions, making continuing analysis and research more necessary than ever.

New directions in research now are emerging as a result of the women's movement. Carried out by a variety of institutions, private and governmental, this research covers a broad range of questions. Women's resource centers have sprung up at many colleges and

universities to research women's issues, compile literature and statistics, and disseminate findings. Private foundations are beginning to fund research into career aspirations, job recruitment, and training.

On a Governmental grant, the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey, is developing methods to evaluate competencies women may have acquired in the course of community voluntary activities. Under the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the National Institute of Education (NIE) is conducting a variety of studies. The Government's National Center for Educational Statistics is collecting data and developing statistics on the status of women, both as students and faculty, in order to provide a data base for future study and action.

This research is expected to contribute to an understanding of early environmental, educational, cultural, and psychological influences and of the complex questions of determinants in career aspirations. Sexism in education, conscious and unconscious, is being researched and discussed in meetings with curriculum development experts, student counselors, and book publishers.

The Women's Research Program in the National Institute of Education, among other things, is studying why women are able to enter leadership roles in nontraditional settings, yet are inhibited in assuming the same responsibility in traditional settings. In primary and secondary education, the Institute supports research into the education needs and rights of women. More than a dozen projects focus on learned behavior and how it can be modified to lessen the effects of sex bias on the lives of women. Some of the projects study classroom behavior directly. On an NIE grant, the University of Illinois is conducting a project designed to determine whether teachers treat girls who fail on school-related tasks differently from boys. It is possible that treatment by teachers may encourage girls to act less independently or more helplessly than boys when faced with achievement tasks. In Princeton, New Jersey, adolescents are being observed to see if any differences exist between male and female leadership behavior and to determine if female leadership behavior changes in the presence of males. A project in Ohio is providing non-sex-biased resources and activities designed to raise the career aspiration level of students, particularly females, in nontraditional areas.

In higher education, NIE is engaged in several research projects. One is a followup to an earlier study by the Radcliffe Institute which revealed the conflicts in young women as to femininity and careers that result in a downgrading of their career aspirations. This study has surveyed about 2,000 wives of graduate students to provide insights into factors related to the educational and occupational aspirations of young married women. It appears that women have educational aspirations of a contingent nature. Fulfilling women's aspirations may often be contingent on whom they marry. Research is now being done on women as vicarious achievers who accept and enjoy roles in which their sense of accomplishment is fulfilled by the successful activities of someone with whom they identify. One hypothesis being tested is that vicarious achievement is reflected in the kinds of choices considered appropriate for women in the occupational structure. The widely held belief that women attend to social relationships and create interpersonal cohesiveness, while men concentrate on task direction and definition, is also being studied.

Lifelong Education

Continuing education programs springing from within existing college and university systems began a little over a decade ago, and their growth has been phenomenal. More than 500 programs of continuing education now exist in the United States. Most of them have developed within an educational structure that already existed, although many have developed as a component of new forms of education. Flexibility and variety are the keynotes of most of these programs. In many cases, they provide the opportunity for part-time, off-campus, widely diversified program participation. Many of them have grown to include both nondegree and degree courses. Some have developed special year-long certificate training programs in special fields. Several have generated enough interest and support to provide impetus for master's degree programs in women's studies.

In all instances, the key to the success of these programs has been their responsiveness to the needs of women. Women themselves have led the way in program and course development, and the most successful encourage participation by women students in program development. Many of these programs use counseling and testing as the basis for their introductory courses. This helps women understand that they do have potential. It aids them in determining their strengths and serves as a stepping stone to further education or entry or reentry into the work force.

Although a majority of these programs originally

were designed to meet the particular needs of the mature woman, younger women have enrolled in increasing numbers. It is not unusual to find men in some classes. Programs of this sort offer special opportunities to include learning programs for women with special problems and needs—widows, divorcees, single-parent women, and women from various cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Programs of ongoing education, fashioned especially for women, help them to keep pace with change and to understand its effect on their lives and the potential effect on succeeding generations.

Programs offering continuing educational opportunities exist at the community level as well, with the community itself serving as the base of the program. For example, programs are conducted by banks to inform women of their own financial needs. Public service radio and television programs sometimes are aimed specifically at women. Churches and libraries offer programs and seminars directed to the special needs of women. Often these community-based programs offer child care to enable young mothers to participate. In many instances, programs are held in retirement homes in order to reach the elderly. The growth and spread of community colleges has opened the door for many U.S. citizens. These colleges have been particularly effective in helping minorities and others whose opportunities for basic education have been lacking.

Special Programs for Minorities and "Disadvantaged"

Over the past 10 years, the Federal Government has given considerable encouragement and support to low-income and minority groups through the teaching system. Specific educational programs have been developed to benefit both boys and girls. They are an important part of the national effort to equalize opportunity and remove handicaps to learning and development which girls and women face in the poor or less-advantaged segments of the population, those trapped in urban pockets of poverty or those in isolated rural regions.

The U.S. Office of Education, authorized by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 providing support to the Nation's primary secondary schools, spends nearly $2 billion each year to enable local educational agencies to strengthen programs for educationally disadvantaged children. Two programs authorized by the Community Services Act are concerned with strengthening the total learning environment of young children from low-income families. *Project Head Start* provides special instructional services, as well as health, nutrition, social, and psychological services, to preschool children. The *Follow Through* program, also administered by the U.S. Office of Education, supports local school systems in providing similar services to children in kindergarten and the first three grades of school. Follow Through is also a research program, which supports and evaluates implementation in the local school systems of various innovative and comprehensive approaches to learning and to parent and community involvement with schools. Both Head Start and Follow Through encourage, or even require, the involvement of parents as paid classroom aides, volunteers, and members of advisory councils. Many parents exert a substantial influence and go on to take part in adult education classes and professional-level occupations such as teaching. Parental involvement has served to develop a new relationship between schools and the communities they serve. The majority of the participating parents are women.

Children of migrants, American Indians, and other minorities such as blacks, Eskimos, and Hispanic people are aided by a variety of other federally supported programs. A recent Supreme Court decision *(Lau v. Nichols)* found that failure by a school system to provide appropriate language instruction to students with limited ability in English was a violation of the Civil Rights Act. New approaches to bilingual education have been introduced into the schools serving children of foreign-speaking parents. They include emphasis on the history and culture of children's forebears, multicultural classes, and bilingual textbooks.

Federal Action To Counter Sex Discrimination

Major progress is being made in achieving equality of access to education by passage of legislation on both the State and Federal levels. Individual States have enacted antidiscriminatory laws. Most Federal legislation in support of education is structured without regard to sex, an exception being the provision to help teenage

mothers continue their education throughout pregnancy and after the birth of a child.

In May 1972, the U.S. Commissioner of Education established a task force to study the problems of sex discrimination in Office of Education programs and policies and to make recommendations for correcting abuses. The report of the task force submitted 6 months later, *A Look at Women in Education: Issues and Answers for HEW*, gave an overview of sex discrimination in American education and documented how Government programs supported, however inadvertently, patterns of discrimination. It made some wide-ranging recommendations for change. Agencies administering Federal funds for education were asked to inform aid recipients of their legal responsibility to end sex bias, expand program monitoring, and make equal career opportunities for the sexes a basic goal of their model programs to prepare young people for careers. Many of the recommendations were designed to help comply with a provision of the Education Amendments of 1972 and an Executive order aimed at helping equalize educational opportunities for women.

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, for which feminists fought, prohibited educational institutions receiving Federal funds from discriminating on the basis of sex. Since most school systems, State departments of education, and postsecondary institutions receive Federal funds, this law is having far-reaching results. This provision of the law has stirred controversy and questioning of basic assumptions about education of the two sexes. The debate goes on and women's groups are putting pressure on the Government to require strict enforcement.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare regulations, which took effect on July 21, 1975, based on Title IX, take cognizance of the historical sex-role stereotyping that has resulted in relegating girls and women to subordinate economic, political, and social roles. Covered by the regulations are admissions, treatment of students, and employment in federally assisted school districts, institutions of higher education, or other entities receiving Federal education aid; and such inequities as lack of comparability in athletic and physical education facilities and services for women, biased career guidance and counseling instruments, lower average salaries for women faculty members, and unequal opportunities for administrative positions.

Vocational, professional, graduate, and public undergraduate schools may not discriminate on the basis of sex admissions, but private undergraduate schools which traditionally have admitted only individuals of one sex are exempt from the provisions with regard to admissions only. Schools in transition from single-sex to coeducational institutions are allowed 7 years to complete the process. Generally, institutions may not use tests, counseling, or recruiting methods having a disproportionately adverse effect on persons on the basis of sex, either for admission to programs or activities or for employment. In the case of athletics, an institution receiving Federal funds must provide reasonable opportunities for scholarship awards for members of each sex. Physical education programs on the elementary school level had to be integrated by July 21, 1976. For grades above that level, they must be integrated by July 21, 1978. Separate athletic teams may be maintained for sports involving competitive skills and body contact.

Use of particular textbooks and other curricula materials is not prohibited by Title IX, because of constitutional guarantees of free speech. However, courses, programs, and activities may not be segregated by sex, except for choruses with vocal range requirements which may result in a single-sex chorus, courses on human sexuality on the elementary and secondary level, and body-contact sports.

A year after these regulations were announced, formal charges were filed by a private organization, the Project on Equal Education Rights (PEER), asserting that 41 States were still in violation of the basic requirements of the law. PEER, a watchdog group, is part of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund and is supported by the Ford Foundation. The group filed complaints against the 41 State agencies when a survey showed that most States had neglected to take several initial steps to comply with the Government regulations. These steps included: checking agency practices to see that they are consistent with the law; letting agency employees and others know about their rights under the law; setting up a formal process to resolve sex-bias charges; and appointing a staff person to head up an effort to assure equal treatment of both sexes.

A second important piece of Federal legislation was the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974. Authorized under the Education Amendments of 1974 (Public Law 93-380), this law adds a new element to the Federal effort for women's rights. It supports and encourages six major objectives: (1) development, evaluation, and dissemination of educational materials related to equity in education; (2) preservice and inservice training for education personnel with special

emphasis on equity; (3) research, development, and educational activities to advance equity; (4) guidance and counseling activities, including the development of nondiscriminatory tests; (5) educational activities to increase opportunities for adult women, and (6) expansion and improvement of programs and activities for women in vocational education, career education, physical education, and education administration.

The legislation created the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs. The council is composed of 17 public members conversant with issues involving the role and status of women in American society, plus the Chairman of the Civil Rights Commission, the Director of HEW's Women's Action Program, and the Director of the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor. Public agencies and private nonprofit organizations and individuals are eligible to apply for contracts and grants to carry out the authorized activities.

Signs of Progress

A program offering new training and job opportunities was passed in 1973 and is particularly significant for women—the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. It provides Federal funds directly to the States and localities to develop job-training programs specifically tailored to local needs. Not only does the law provide new opportunities for women; it specifically prohibits sex discrimination in any of these federally funded training and employment programs.

One indicator of the impact of recent laws prohibiting discrimination in education is the increase in first-year law and medical students. The percentage of women in first-year, full-time law school classes for the fall of 1975 was 34.6 percent, up from 15.7 percent in 1971. In medical schools, 23.7 percent of the entering class of 1975 were women, up from 11.1 percent in 1970. The percentage of women enrolled in master's and doctor's degrees programs in business and management in 1974-75 was 49.6.

The National Center for Educational Statistics announced in January 1977 that the number of women earning doctorate degrees has increased sharply over the past few years, although women still lag far behind men in terms of total doctorates awarded: 1969-70—3 percent; 1974-75—10.8 percent. The number of women receiving doctorate degrees increased 80 percentage points from 1970-71 to 1974-75, going from 3,976 to 7,266. In the same period, the number of degrees awarded men declined from 27,500 to 26,800. A similar trend was reported in first professional degrees— the degrees that prepare students to practice law, medicine, dentistry, and a number of other professions. The number of women receiving such degrees nearly tripled, from 2,400 in 1970-71 to 7,000 in 1974-75. At the same time, the number of men receiving such degrees rose from 35,500 to 49,000.

Vocational school data show that the number of women enrolled in technical programs has increased by 44 percent in the past 5 or 6 years, while the number enrolled in trade and industrial training programs increased 80 percent. Adult basic education programs are equally accessible to men and women.

5. Women and Work

Women have contributed to the Nation's economy and to their own support from colonial times to the present. During the 17th and 18th centuries, women contributed to the support of their families largely through home-production tasks and farm duties. But from the colonial era into the 19th century, a few women earned money by operating shops, taverns, and inns, and working in the needle trades and cottage industries. They often ran the primary schools. As early as 1820, women were employed in at least 75 kinds of manufacturing establishments. By the 1830's, women were employed in a great variety of occupations, including shoebinding, typesetting, bookbinding, saddling, brushmaking, tailoring, and many other trades.

With the start of the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century, the picture began to change. A transformation occurred in the economic position of women and in the nature of their work conditions. Many unpaid services were transformed into paid employment, and much of their work was transferred from the home to the factory and workshop. The range of their employment therefore was broadened, and the proportion of wives who contributed to the economic welfare of their families in the form of money earnings began to rise.

Between 1920 and 1950, the proportion of employed wives rose from 9 to 25 percent. But the basic position of women vis-a-vis the economy remained unchanged. Men still provided for the support of their families in principle whether the income was derived from their own farms or businesses or from their labors in the factories, trades, or the professions. Women were still regarded as the dependents of men in law as well as in fact. Over the last 25 years (1951-1975), the proportion of employed wives had risen from 25 percent to 45 percent and the position and status of women has also begun to change radically.

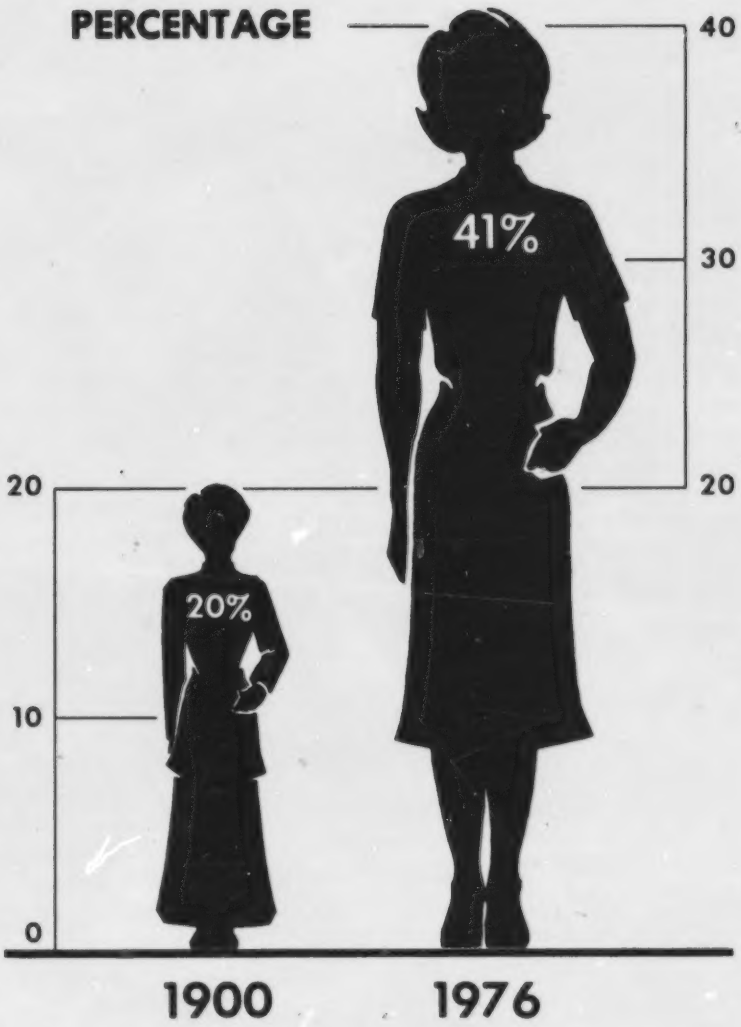
The industrial and social revolutions of the 20th century have brought women into the labor force in ever-increasing numbers. One of the most striking aspects of the role of women in the American economy today is the large number and proportion of women in paid employment outside the home and the increasing strength of their attachment to their work. Reports of unemployment are now inflated because of the number of women trying to return to work after bringing up their children. By 1976, they accounted for 41 percent of the total labor force. About 47 percent of women aged 16 and over were in the labor force, a proportion that rose to well over 50 percent for women aged 18 to 54. More than half of these women were homemakers who entered or reentered the work force.

The extraordinary acceleration of women's participation in the work force over the past decade resulted from changes in many areas—demographic, social, technological, and economic. These changes included: large increases in the adult population due to the relatively high birth rate in the period following World War II; the development and increased availability of goods and services that made housework easier; more widespread acceptance of family planning and birth control; and a softening of society's prejudice against working wives. There was also an increased demand for workers in white-collar and service jobs. Landmark legislation and court decisions prohibiting employment discrimination based on sex then came along in response to pressures for equal opportunity. This nudged the process forward.

The Working Woman—A Profile

Today an overwhelming 90 percent of all American women work outside the home for pay during at least

WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE



Source: Bureau of the Census
U.S. Department of Commerce

part of their life. The picture of the husband as the wage earner and the wife as his dependent is no longer typical. More men and women are beginning to function and regard each other as equal partners. Families in which not only the husband but the wife, and possibly another family member, are in the labor force, are a major—and growing—segment of American society. In 1976, 67 percent of all husband-wife families had two workers or more; about two-fifths of all children under 18 were in such families. As the number and proportion of these husband-wife families continue to rise, their impact on the economy in terms of higher family income and consumption will increase as well.

Since one in three marriages now ends in divorce, there is a greater chance that a woman may be divorced and become dependent upon her own resources. At the same time, the single lifestyle is becoming more prevalent. This is a sharp change from the recent past when an unmarried woman was regarded with pity. Young women today are postponing marriage. Many have career aspirations they do not want to subordinate to marriage and family. Even among women who do leave the work force, a majority return when their children are in school.

A recently released study conducted by the Ohio State University Center for Human Resource Research found that women's behavior on the job is affected by their feelings toward social trends. For example, a woman with "liberated" views about working mothers with children is more likely to pursue a career and to place her children in the care of someone other than a relative. One out of six mothers with a preschool child said she would look for a job if free day-care facilities were available. The average woman has a worklife expectancy of 25 years as compared with 43 years for men. Since leaving school, only a minority of women have established careers and worked in the same field for as much as three-fourths of their time. The Ohio State University study showed that one-half of the single women had careers compared with one-third of the married women without children and only 7 percent with children.

Women have carried a double load. Confined to low-paying jobs, they have run households and raised children as well. Studies prior to 1940 indicate that housework was done almost entirely by women and girls. With government help, labor-saving principles have been developed and applied to the design of household materials and equipment and to kitchens and other work and living areas of the home. Principles of work simplification and management have been applied to housework and care of children. Home economics information has been made available in schools, adult education and extension programs, and publications.

A study of time-use shows that all household tasks now are performed at least occasionally by husbands. But in a pamphlet entitled "What's a Wife Worth?," the Chase Manhattan Bank estimates that the average housewife with a paying job spends at least 6 hours more each week working than her husband, when jobs, commuting time to work, housework, and family tasks are all considered. The average housewife with no outside job spends a total of 99.6 hours a week at 12 different jobs in the home, according to this study. These jobs include nursemaid and laundress, cook and dishwasher, seamstress, maintenance "man," and family chauffeur.

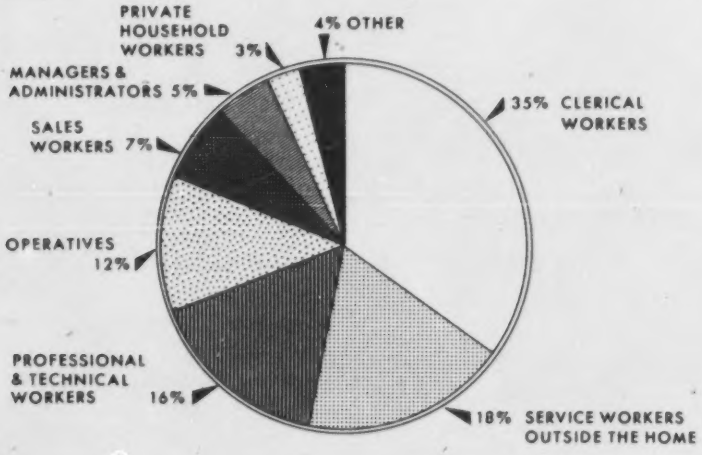
Homemaking always has been taken for granted, even held in low esteem. Now, as women enter the work force in increased numbers, they are beginning to insist on more shared housework and financial security based on housework. There is a rush among financial advisers to help women manage their new found independence. Consumer and financial affairs specialists are teaching courses on money management. Through courses and books these advisers provide guides on how to get a better job, buy insurance, set up a business, or pay a luncheon check when a male guest considers it an affront to his masculinity. They also discuss credit, employment, and other information vital to all women, whether single, married, divorced, or widowed.

Fewer Options for Women

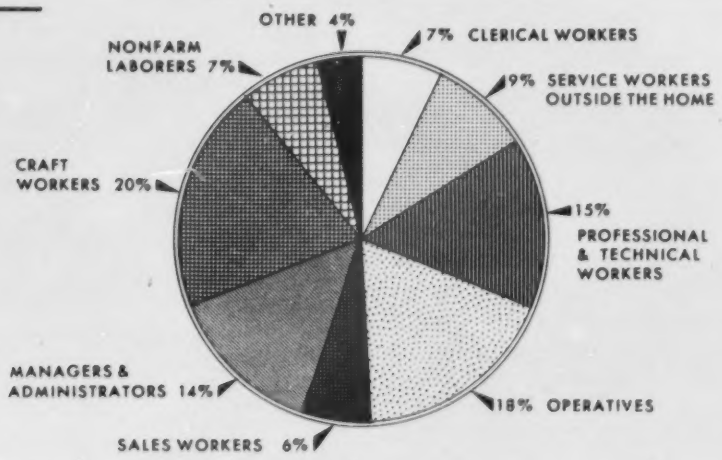
At present, women earn less money than men and have fewer options than men in their choices of jobs. Most women are still going into traditionally female occupations—clerical workers rather than craft workers; teachers and nurses rather than engineers and doctors. By 1976, about half of all women were in 20 occupations — secretaries, typists, cashiers, retail trade sales workers, bookkeepers, private household workers, school teachers, registered nurses, nurses' aides, waitresses, sewing and cleaning occupations, cooks, assemblers, receptionists, hairdressers and cosmetologists, packers and wrappers (except meat and produce), food counter and fountain workers, and checkers, examiners, and inspectors in manufacturing. Women are employed primarily in white-collar occupations, most of which are not unionized. Therefore

OCCUPATIONS

WOMEN



MEN



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Employment Standards Administration
Women's Bureau
Washington, D.C. 20210

they do not receive the benefit of the higher wages paid in blue-collar (craft or physical labor) jobs which are largely unionized. Almost 4 out of 10 women in non-agricultural industries were in clerical jobs; about 1 in 6 were in service occupations, including private homemakers service. About the same number were in professional occupations.

The breakdown by numbers in 1976 for jobs outside agriculture was:

Services	8.2 million
Trade	7.4 million
Government	6.7 million
Manufacturing	5.6 million
Health Services and Education	3.8 million

As a result of efforts to break down stereotypes, women are beginning to enter traditionally male-dominated careers, but the number who have succeeded is small. Women have made some inroads into skilled and professional jobs since 1970. Information from the 1974 Current Population Survey indicates that the number of women in managerial jobs has increased by about 600,000, or nearly 50 percent, since 1970. The proportion of female law, medical, and business school students has increased. Vocational school data show that the number of women enrolled in technical programs has increased by 44 percent in the past 5 years while the increase in women enrolled in trade and industrial training programs reached 80 percent.

Lower Pay for Women

Despite theoretical equality for women in the work force, disproportionate numbers are still in low-paying jobs. More than two-fifths of full-time, year-round women workers in 1975 earned less than $7,000 a year. More than four-fifths of the full-time, year-round male workers earned more than $7,000. Women's employment is also irregular because of family responsibilities. The average male salaries are a full two-thirds larger than those of female employees. A housewife's services to her family as maid, cook, laundress, child rearer and so forth are not considered "work" for Social Security or other purposes. Women who worked full time in 1975 earned $3,000 for every $5,000 earned by men similarly employed. Although the size of the earnings gap has varied over time, women in 1977 fare worse than they did 20 years ago. In 1955, for example, women's median wage or salary income totaled 64 percent of men's income. By 1970, the gap between women's and men's income had increased; women earned a median income only 59 percent of men's. By 1976 women's earnings were still 59 percent of men's earnings. Additionally, 89 percent of the jobs paying $15,000 or more in 1975 were held by white men. Women and blacks and the other ethnic minorities shared the remaining 11 percent of these high-paying jobs. Only 5 percent of all full-time employed women had incomes over $15,000.

The extent of the earnings gap between men and women varies depending upon the occupation and industry. In 1975, the largest salary differential existed among salesworkers; women earned only 39 percent of the amount earned by male salesworkers. The smallest salary difference exists in the nonfarm laborer occupations where women's earnings were 77 percent of men's earnings. Among service workers, women earned 55 percent of men's earnings.

The income disparities between men and women employed in the same industry are often as significant as those within occupational categories. In 1975 women craftworkers and operatives in manufacturing industries earned 53 percent of men's wages. Within construction industries, women earned 68 percent of the amount earned by men. Various explanations have been given for these disparities. It has been said that women generally work part-time. Available data reveal that female part-time employment is too limited to account for the earnings gap. Of the total female civilian labor force that worked in 1976, 29 percent of the women worked part-time compared with 11 percent of employed men.

Even among full-time, year-round workers, a substantial earnings gap exists. One reason given for the earnings gap is that women are employed in low-skilled, low-income jobs. Among service workers — low-paying occupations in which women are heavily concentrated — women's earnings are substantially lower than men's. Thus the inequity is due in large measure to the fact that, even within occupations, women tend to occupy the jobs that are the least valued and pay the least. These include jobs as cooks, nurses' aides, and waitresses, which pay less than jobs as chefs, bartenders, guards, custodians, and maitres d'hotel, which generally are held by men.

Year-round, full-time white male workers in 1970 had a median income of $9,373, as compared to $6,598

for black men, $5,490 for white women, and $4,675 for black women. This relationship held true for every educational level. According to the Civil Rights Commission, it results in part from unequal pay, but occupational discrimination also figures in the formula. Income for white families where both the wife and husband worked averaged $15,954 a year, compared to $13,536 for white families with nonworking wives. The average income for black families with both partners working was $11,731 compared to $8,331 for families with only the husband working.

Women, however, apparently are improving their position over time. In an article in the *Monthly Labor Review* for May 1974, Victor Fuchs found that despite a very large increase in employment of women during the decade, which would tend to depress women's earnings, there was an improvement in the relative position of women. Under this formula, the women's earnings ratio rose from 0.61 to 0.64. "If, during a period of rapid increase in supply, earnings of women were more than able to hold their own, and for some groups showed significant gains, the long-run prospects for women must be viewed as favorable," the article concluded.

Educational Attainment and Employment

The degree of success among women, irrespective of marital status, is related substantially to the extent of their schooling, training outside formal education, and work experience. Current and projected school enrollment data indicate that the educational attainment of women workers will continue its long-term rise during the late 1970's and 1980's.

In March 1974, 25.3 million women workers, or more than 72 percent of those 16 years of age or over in the labor force, had completed at least 4 years of high school. About 39 percent of these high school graduates had completed one year of college or more. About 18 percent were college graduates. At the lower end of the educational scale, nearly 10 percent of the women workers had 8 or fewer years of schooling and nearly 18 percent had completed only 1 to 3 years of high school.

The percentage of women who will complete at least 4 years of high school is projected to increase to nearly 78 percent by 1985. The projected educational attainment of women workers at the lower end of the educational ladder is particularly significant. The proportion of women with 8 or fewer years of formal schooling is expected to continue to decline rapidly, so that by 1985 the percentage will be about half that in 1973. In contrast, the proportion of women workers with 4 or more years of college is expected to increase to about one-third of all women workers, as compared with less than one-eighth in March 1973.

Equal education alone will not wipe out differences. When education is held constant, the disparity between female and male earnings remains. In all instances where men and women share the same educational attainment, men have higher incomes than women regardless of race or ethnic background. In addition, women consistently have lower incomes than do men with less education.

Women in Science

Although women have made valuable contributions to scientific research, teaching, writing, and training, career opportunities in science have been limited for women.

A 1975 *Profile of Doctoral Scientists and Engineers in the United States* compiled by the National Research Council and sponsored by the National Science Foundation found only 23,188 women among the 265,534 doctoral scientists and engineers in the U.S. population. They were mostly heavily concentrated in biosciences, psychology, and the social sciences; the fewest were in engineering. There are also few women in leadership roles in scientific organizations and the science departments of colleges and universities. This is obviously a reflection of the society's attitude toward science as men's work. Again, there is a need for new role models for women at the top to break the pattern of training and employment.

There are also deeply entrenched sexual biases concerning subject matter that need to be removed. Women have developed what has been called a "math anxiety." In school, both sexes agree that boys do better in mathematics. This notion is reinforced by parents and teachers, and by girls' fears of being too smart in the classroom. The effects of this type of "subject sexism" were devastating in the 1977 graduating class at the University of California at Berkeley where 57 percent of the entering male students had had 4 years of high school math. Only 8 percent of the females had

had the same training. All but five of 20 major areas of subject concentration required some kind of college-level calculus and statistics background for which the majority of women did not qualify. This left only five areas of concentration for 92 percent of the women — humanities, music, social work, elementary education, and guidance and counseling.

The National Science Foundation is endeavoring to encourage more young women to pursue careers in science. There already has been a significant increase in women in medicine, where the percentage of women in professional jobs has increased from about 5 percent in 1920 to 8.4 percent in 1970. This upward trend appears to be continuing. In fiscal year 1976-77, 5,485 applications for fellowships and awards were received by the National Science Foundation. Women submitted 1,863 or 33 percent of these applications; 517 fellowships were granted, of which 144 or 27 percent went to women. This represents a rise in the percentages of women making application for and receiving these coveted fellowships and a better balance between awards and applicants by sex.

Women in the Arts and Humanities

Until recent times, women have been thought of as patrons and supporters of the arts but not as creative and professional artists. There have been great women writers for along time, but the Victorian attitude that it was acceptable for women to play the piano or paint watercolors but not to pursue a serious career as a professional artist is well known. Similar attitudes prevailed in earlier periods. But the rise in public awareness and support for the arts in the United States in recent years, coupled with the emergence of women in the work world generally, have combined to bring about a new flowering of artistic talent among women. Women are going into all the arts as professionals.

Federal funding for the arts and humanities, which began in 1965 and has steadily increased, has helped women gain a foothold in the arts. Galleries are opening that are devoted solely to the work of women artists, and literary articles are being written about the philosophy of feminine imagery. The artistic scene has come alive for women to the point that there are now some 300,000 women poets, writers, artists, teachers, dancers, and actresses earning a living in the United States. Artists are as concerned as any other group of working women with equal pay, equal recognition, and equal access to the public. Women artists are still underrepresented in Manhattan's leading art galleries and museums. Women still encounter job discrimination and lower pay throughout the arts.

Some 2,130 women reported in the last census that they were architects and 960 said they were city planners. Women represent a small percentage of these professions — 3.7 percent of all architects and 10.5 percent of planners. In architecture, men earn almost two-thirds more per year than women.

In all arts and humanities-related professions surveyed in the last census, men had higher median earnings than women by far. They also outnumbered women in all but two professions: dancing and librarianship. Librarianship has been called a "woman's profession." Of the 123,144 people reporting to census takers that they were librarians, about 82 percent were women. But over the past decade or so, as Federal support for libraries has increased, there has been a steady move by men into the top librarianship jobs. In 1930, many women had held the top jobs.

The American Symphony Orchestra League compiled figures for a 1976 study requested by the Arts and Humanities Committee of the President's Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year. That Commission was the first to study the status of women in the arts. The League found that the number of women players in "major" symphony orchestras, those with annual budgets of more than $1 million, rose 36 percent between the 1964-65 and the 1974-75 concert seasons.

However, women musicians still tend to be concentrated in the smaller orchestras with lower pay. "Orchestras with the highest budgets, longest seasons, and most generous salaries tend to have the fewest women musicians," the League study noted. It did not make any judgment as to whether this was "a natural reflection of the kinds of work being sought by women, or a factor of the women's movement not yet influencing longstanding employment patterns."

Women teaching in the arts and humanities do not fare much better. Surveys taken by women's groups formed in many major academic professional and learned associations found that women with credentials as good as men's usually were given jobs only in the lower, nontenured ranks of college and university

faculties. In the teaching of English and foreign languages, women have done somewhat better than in other fields. Women are preponderantly represented in 4-year colleges where teaching loads are heaviest and the least time exists for research and writing. The last census showed that the median earnings for women in the fields of art, drama, music, foreign language, English and history teaching, among others, were 50-60 percent those of men.

Military Service

In the past few years, due to changes in attitude and law brought about by the women's movement, the military services have been reevaluating every rule, law, regulation, and policy that treats women and men differently. As a result only a relatively small number of combat-type jobs are now closed by law to women. Women in the services have equal pay and benefits for themselves and their dependents. They can advance to the highest ranks and command troops, except in combat. They do not have to resign on marriage, and if both spouses are in the military services an effort is made to assign them to the same post.

The Army, Navy, and Air Force are all rapidly expanding the number of women in the military services. While the active personnel strength of the services declined from 2,494,000 in 1960 to 2,138,000 at the end of 1974, the number of women rose from 31,550 (1.265 percent) to 97,000 (4.6 percent). Even though women are required to be better qualified than men for admission to the services, many more apply than the military services can take under current limitations on percentage of women in the military services set by law. The Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women has recommended that women be admitted on the same basis as men. Women are now admitted to the three military academies. The women's movement has placed considerable emphasis on inclusion of women in the military services, because of the many training and other opportunities provided while in the services and after discharge. The military service has traditionally been an avenue of upward mobility for poor boys in the United States. Furthermore, inclusion of women in the military services in substantial numbers has great psychological importance in efforts to eliminate sex role stereotyping and provide equal power for women in all institutions.

The Role of Labor Unions

Of the more than 35 million women workers in the United States, only about 4 million are members of labor unions. Unionized occupations are more highly paid as a result of collective bargaining with management. Most women in the labor force are not members of labor unions and are not only paid lower wages but also lack job security, retirement, and other fringe benefits. While only a small proportion of working women belong to unions, they have made gains in organized labor. Some 297,000 women joined unions for the first time between 1972 and 1974. In 1974, women accounted for 24.9 percent of the national union and employee association membership. Union and non-union differentials in pay are substantial.

The U.S. National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year reported in 1976 that: "All available evidence, which is often limited and out-of-date, suggests that the higher levels of decisionmaking in American unions rarely include the contribution of women, even where membership in these unions is predominantly female." In testimony on November 10, 1975 before the Committee on Women in Power in Austin, Texas, Barbara Wertheimer, director of Trade Union Women's Studies, New York School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, underscored the need for data:

Three-fourths of unionized women belong to 21 labor organizations out of a total of 212 such organizations and associations. Over half belong to just 12. Women make up half or more of the members in 26 unions or employee associations out of a total of some 212. The two big garment unions, as you might expect, lead in the number and percentage of their members who are women. Between them the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America claim some 560,000 women members out of their total memberships of 700,000. The other unions in order of their numbers are: International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Communication Workers of America, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, United Automobile Workers, International Union of Electrical Workers, Retail Clerks International Association, and the Hotel and Restaurant Workers.

Very little data is available on the numbers of women in decisionmaking positions in these unions. Partly in response to this problem, the Coalition of Labor Union Women was formed in 1974 to deal with the lack of women in decisionmaking positions in unions and to address the inadequate representation of

women members' concerns by unions in the collective bargaining process.

Wall Street and Corporate Management

After a decade of agitation by women, shifts in public opinion, and new antidiscrimination laws, women have at last begun to push their way up the ladder of corporate management.

Surveys reported in *Business Week* and elsewhere indicate that there are about 600 men to every woman in the middle and upper ranks of corporate management. It has been estimated that women now total 15 percent of entry management, 5 percent of middle management, and 1 percent of top corporate management. With more women in the university business schools, more are on the way. The only questions are: How many will make it into this jealously guarded competitive male preserve and how far will they go? The day when women will manage top industrial corporations appears to be a long way off.

Women are also finally beginning to make an appearance in professional jobs in the stock market and in financial institutions. This closed club has opened its doors to women and they are performing well, according to all reports. In 1967, the first woman was admitted as a member of the New York Stock Exchange. At the end of her first year on the floor buying and selling stocks, Muriel Siebert had grossed more than a million dollars. Bernadette Bartels, a market analyst, was for a time president of the Financial Women's Association of New York, a group of about 185 professional women involved in finance. Its members work with both young and mature women and married women going back into the work force. They lecture on careers in finance in the schools, serving as role models and helping other women. Their work contradicts the belief that women who succeed do not want to help others. A new graduate school of business for women managers recently was begun at Simmons College in Boston.

America's population today is divided into three parts — central cities, suburbs, and nonmetropolitan areas. Under this classification, nearly 66 million people live in rural or nonmetropolitan areas, 61.5 million in central cities, and more than 80 million in suburbs of cities. This figure of 66 million rural residents is larger than the combined total population of the 100 largest U.S. cities and is the equivalent of the ninth most populous nation in the world. No country in Europe and only one in Latin America—Brazil—has a total population that exceeds that of rural America. Slightly more than half, or probably 34 to 35 million, are rural girls and women. It is also significant to note that, contrary to trends of the past, rural population recently has been increasing. The great migration from the country to the city has been reversed. Rural populations cannot be ignored. They are no longer a dwindling remnant of the past.

A Look at the Rural Population

The majority of these rural people do not live on farms, however. Since 1937, when the number of farms in the United States reached a peak of 7 million, the number has declined to less than 3 million. The total population of farm residents was estimated in 1970 at slightly less than 10 million, or 4.7 percent of the population, and has since declined to less than 9 million. In 1920, nearly 32 million Americans lived on farms. In 1940, about 22 percent of the total female population lived on farms; in 1973, less than 5 percent. Of the adult women living on farms in 1973, more than one-fifth were employed in nonagricultural work.

Rural people represent a diversity of ethnic backgrounds and have cherished their various cultural heritages in ways that have been lost once people moved into urban areas. The Appalachian mountain regions of the East, for example, were settled largely by Anglo-Americans who have clung to their isolated way of life, sometimes drifting into urban centers when employment opportunities reached out to them and then retreating to their original homes in times of unemployment. These mountain people have preserved many of their old ways — women's needlework, singing, folk dancing, storytelling and country music. Other subgroups of rural Americans include blacks, Hispanics, migrants, and native Americans, including American Indians and Eskimos. Each has unique characteristics and special needs.

But all rural people have common needs. The women among them want to be recognized as significant and contributing members of their families and the wider society. Since many live in sparse or isolated areas, where educational delivery costs are high and income is generally low, their educational needs are great.

Lifestyles have not changed as much among these women as among city or suburban dwellers who are at the center of social and cultural change. Their needs are those of women and girls who continue to be viewed and treated primarily as wives and mothers and whose need to become part of the political/economic world in which they live is still regarded as secondary if it is recognized at all. This analysis comes from Dr. Kathryn F. Clarenbach, chairman of Women's Education Resources, University of Wisconsin Extension in Madison, Wisconsin. In a recent report on women's rural education for the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, she wrote that these women often express "feelings of discomfort that 'city' women and men treat rural people as inferior and neither understand nor respect the circumstances and values of their lives."

"In general, rural or nonmetropolitan residents have a higher incidence of social problems and receive a lower per capita share of Federal dollars designed to meet those problems than the rest of the population," Dr. Clarenbach wrote. "Poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, underemployment, infant mortality, economic exploitation, migration, and lack of opportunity are all appreciably more prevalent in rural than urban areas."

Women have found careers in agriculture since the earliest days of the Republic. Many have contributed their labor, especially in times of war when many actively participated in the management of family farms or actually took over their management. From the time the States established agricultural colleges a century ago, a few women have studied agriculture. Usually they took subjects such as poultry, floriculture, apiculture (the raising and care of bees), or small fruits and gardening. With the establishment of agricultural extension and research programs, many additional careers were opened up to women. Following passage of the Food Production Act in 1917, 600 women were employed as emergency agents in agricultural extension, most working with clubs organized for farm boys and girls — so-called 4-H Clubs. Today more than 4,000 extension home economists with college degrees are employed at the Federal, State, and county levels, working with about 8,000 paraprofessionals and 860,000 trained volunteer leaders in educational programs which reach 10 million families annually. Many women have made lasting contributions to research in nutrition, food technology, and other farm-related fields.

While a few women have pursued careers related to agriculture, many more have gained experience, education, and self-confidence through participation in rural organizations and programs which have helped them to follow careers in other fields. Before 1900, rural women gained experience in public speaking and in forming and managing organizations through their membership (with men) in the National Grange and the American Association of Farmers Institutes. Women also formed canning clubs, were active in the Homemakers' Association, and received training as lay leaders in extension-service programs and boys' and girls' clubs. Interests and activities of these organizations have broadened to provide national and international experience to rural women. For example, the National Extension Homemakers' Council of 600,000 members from 35,000 organized community groups participates in the international organization, Associated Country Women of the World, and sends delegates to the triennial world conferences. A portion of the extension program is designed specifically to prepare U.S. women for stronger participation and leadership in decision-making and policy developing roles.

In recent years, community and junior colleges, often in the more rural areas, have offered an additional opportunity for 2 years of schooling beyond high school which is close to home at low cost. This has been of direct benefit to women, who were traditionally excluded from higher education because of the cost factor. Families feel it is more important for sons to have an education than daughters if they cannot afford both. The percentage of women obtaining postsecondary education degrees has increased from 39 percent of all degrees in 1969-70 to 43.1 percent of all degrees in the fall of 1974-75.

In the area of adult education, according to a 1972-73 study, male enrollment was still predominant in agriculture, technical education, and trades/industries. However, more women are now moving into these non-traditional areas. Employment of women and girls in the agricultural and rural sector has varied throughout the country, depending on the type of farming operation. In truck-garden areas, where seasonal, migrant labor is widely used, entire families become involved in field labor. Or where hand labor is of importance and heavy work is minimal, women and girls become involved. But in areas where grains, orchards, poultry, and livestock operations are predominant, and mechanization and equipment are critical, we find a different situation. The farm operation is often set up as a partnership or a corporation, and the farm woman or wife is much more likely to take an active role, not only in production, such as operating the machinery, but

also in management or entrepreneurial areas. A recent poll of 12,000 *Successful Farming* magazine readers confirmed that three-fourths of farm wives participate in farm business decisions today. They also have become actively involved in legislation, lobbying, and public relations as they affect the rural and farm population. Farm women's organizations have sprung up in recent years, and a significant number have banded together recently in a national coalition called American Agri-Women, which was organized in November 1974. Member organizations include Women to Save Agriculture, Women for Agriculture, United Farm Wives of America, Inc., Kansas Wheathearts, the National Grange, and others.

In the areas of education and social services for the economically disadvantaged and the less literate women in the United States, the Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program, sponsored by the Extension Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, has been a significant program. It has been in operation nearly 6 years and has taught more than one million enrolled homemakers and their families, on a one-to-one basis, how to improve their diets. A spinoff benefit is that many of the 22,000 aides in the training programs have gained self-confidence and motivation to resume interrupted education and move on to better jobs. The Extension Service in the States has also reached more than 1.5 million 4-H youths with nutrition education, with resulting benefits to rural women. Most of these 4-H programs tie in with county and State fairs where rural crafts, skills, and talents compete for prizes and recognition. Serving a highly mobile population in many rural areas, small roadside stands will promote and sell the particular crafts, arts, and industries of the specific area, such as baskets, quilts, flower arrangements, homemade jams, jellies, pickles and relishes, or homegrown garden produce and fruits. These products are frequently the work of the rural woman and the stands are frequently staffed by these same women.

Women as Volunteers

Voluntarism is a uniquely American activity in which women (and men) have engaged. It is an arena where women have demonstrated competence and skill. They have effected change in the social service delivery system, both through demonstration and advocacy. Volunteers have provided the personal caring touch in many agencies.

For some women voluntarism has served as a vehicle for testing alternative career choices. Other women have acquired specific skills or training in decision-making which they have used as a steppingstone to paid employment. Still others have found it a satisfying supplement to the role of full-time homemaker or employee in another field. Thus voluntarism increases the range of options for women.

The abilities of women volunteers are seldom recognized through appointment to decisionmaking positions in the organizations to which they contribute their time and energy, according to a study done by the National Council of Jewish Women. A 1977 survey of 80 organizations in 18 cities found that, on the average, women comprise 65 percent of the volunteer corps of these organizations. In contrast, women constitute 30 percent of all members of boards of directors, 23 percent of all officers, and only 8 percent of the presidents of these organizations.

Differing Unemployment Rates

It often has been noted that minority groups and women are the last hired and the first fired in times of economic downturn. Labor Department statistics bear out this observation. Its statistics reveal that except for 1 year, 1958, unemployment rates for women have been consistently higher than for men. While the size of the gap between these unemployment rates has varied over the years, a fairly consistent widening has occurred between the two.

In 1960, for example, women had a joblessness rate of 5.9 percent compared with 5.4 percent for men, a gap of 0.5 percent. In 1976, joblessness among women was 8.6 percent compared with 7.0 percent among men, a gap of 1.6 percent. When the data are analyzed by race, minority women suffer a rate of unemployment almost double that of white women, 10.5 percent versus 5.3 percent in 1973. The highest unemployment rate is among minority female teenagers. For example, in 1973 unemployment among 18- and 19-year-old minority females was 33.3 percent.

These figures do not include discouraged workers, a substantial number of whom are women. Discouraged workers are those who become discouraged over job prospects and give up looking for work. These workers are not counted as either unemployed or as part of the work force. The Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates

that in the last couple of years the discouraged worker total averaged about one million, 65 percent of whom were women.

Patterns in Job Discrimination

Although both sex and race discrimination in employment have been declared illegal, it does still exist in the United States. Bound by traditional attitudes that men should be able to receive higher pay to support their families, women have been given low priority across the spectrum of jobs and hiring practices. Women often suffer the experience of frustration caused by unequal opportunity and job discrimination— and a painful experience it is. Discrimination against women occurs at every stage of employment and the advancement-decision process.

There are two general kinds of discrimination. *Open* discrimination exists where specific personnel policies deny equal employment opportunities. Such policies may include establishment of different job qualifications for women and men performing identical or similar jobs, or lower wage scales for women performing the same or similar functions as men. Job openings sometimes are reoffered for men or women only. These kinds of discrimination are less prevalent than they were because they are patently illegal. What remains is what might be called *concealed* or *covert* discrimination. This is more difficult to pin down and eradicate. Whether intentional or not, it has the result of denying women job opportunities.

This kind of hidden discrimination is found in systems, patterns, practices, and policies that are sometimes difficult to perceive. They become evident in the results— namely a limitation on women's access to skilled, highly paid, or creative employment. Recruiting methods and sources often eliminate women from competition for certain jobs at the outset. Companies resisting change may continue to recruit for entry-level managerial or professional jobs from predominantly male colleges or through an informal network of contacts that are predominantly white male.

Women are being taken into corporate management, but they are received with mixed emotions by older men who resist the trend and by younger men who regard them as unwanted competition. The single most important variable in determining women's progress is the attitude of corporate management. Companies still are not giving qualified women professionals, such as tax lawyers, market researchers, or cash-flow specialists, the kind of opportunities for growth within the corporate structure that they need for advancement to upper- and middle-management jobs. If they were men, they would be receiving such growth opportunities. Women have to work harder than men to advance. They feel they must avoid failure at all costs because they have to prove themselves the equals of men in performance. The mediocre man is accepted but not the mediocre woman.

A survey conducted by the *Harvard Business Review* indicated that there is greater concern with the careers of men than women within corporations. Some 1,500 subscribers of the *Review* participated in the study, which concluded that there was a degree of skepticism about the ability of women to balance work and family demands. Managers also assumed that women would have to become more assertive and independent if they were to compete successfully. Only when there were clear-cut rules and qualifications were men and women able to break out of stereotyped scenarios.

Different patterns of discrimination may be seen in different fields of endeavor. The medical profession, for example, is overwhelmingly a white male preserve. Ninety-three percent of medical doctors are male and ninety-eight percent of all doctors are white, while ninety-eight percent of nurses are female. Because of their control of their profession, doctors can influence the entire system of health care, including entry and degree and manner of participation as well as services.

In the arts, women painters, musicians, and writers get an equal chance at employment and awards when they can keep their identity and sex secret. For example, during 1960–72, women painters and sculptors did considerably better in juried shows where their names were concealed than they did on one-artist or group invitational shows where names were known. In 1975, however, only one-third of the major American orchestras conducted their preliminary auditions behind screens. Only three orchestras— all with a high percentage of women— now use a screen in final auditions. Women writers often have used their first initials rather than their first names and have assumed masculine pen names to further acceptance or popularity of their work. Historical examples are George Eliot and George Sand. Has there ever been a reverse case where men assumed women's names? If so, they have been exceedingly rare.

In architecture, women are subject to special kinds of

stereotyping. An International Women's Year Task Force on Women in Architecture found a lack of internship opportunities for women. The Task Force said there was a general belief in the profession that women were "more capable of designing residences or kitchens" than larger, more lucrative types of construction. There was also a reluctance to send a woman architect to building sites "on the assumption that prejudicial attitudes of contractors and construction workers would prevent her from doing her job . . ."

In 1975, after women teachers of classical languages arranged for anonymous or blind review of papers submitted for presentation to professional societies, the proportion of women presenting papers tripled in comparison with 1973 before blind judging went into effect.

Women have often been labeled "unqualified" or "nonsupervisory material" for the same specious reasons that blacks were denied employment and promotions. Black women still suffer a double jeopardy and may not know whether they are being discriminated against on the basis of sex or color or both. The vast majority of black women are exploited in the labor market. They also constitute a surplus labor supply.

Combating Discrimination in Employment

Major efforts to integrate women into the national life have focused on weaving the principle of equality between men and women into the legal fabric of the Nation. The Labor Department has undertaken special projects to move women into fields previously closed to them. In addition to serving the needs of women already working, its Women's Bureau promotes the training, counseling, and education of girls and women who may one day enter or reenter the work force. It also seeks to advance the status of women as citizens participating in policymaking areas that affect their civic, economic, and social welfare. Affirmative action programs also have been established which, among others, eliminate policies that cause underutilization of women. Through research, the National Institute of Education is seeking to improve understanding of the relationship between education and work, thereby improving career access and progress. By building a new kind of partnership between education and the world of work, it is hoped that new ways can be found to match people's talents with their needs and desires.

Finally, there has been progress in recent years in passing new antidiscrimination laws, expanding coverage of existing laws, and strengthening enforcement. The Government has acquired new rights to institute court suits and has increased coordination of Federal equal employment opportunity agencies. The Federal Government has now virtually preempted the field with a variety of laws enacted since 1963. These Federal laws have superseded State statutes, including those allegedly providing special protection to women but which often were used to exclude women from employment because of special benefits that had to be awarded under them, or which precluded women from working certain hours or lifting heavy weights. The new laws require that women be paid equal wages for equal or comparable work. They also require equal job opportunity regardless of sex, race, color, religion, or country of national origin. Other laws have long required equal opportunity in Federal Government employment.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 was the first Federal anti-sex-discrimination measure to be enacted by Congress. It amended the Fair Labor Standards Act, which established a Federal minimum wage, overtime pay, and child-labor laws, to prohibit pay differentials on the basis of sex in work of equal or substantially similar skill, effort or responsibility. It has been a very effective law to date for combating sex discrimination in employment practices. It was amended in 1972 to include previously uncovered executive, administrative, and professional workers, including academic personnel. But its provisions apply only to the question of wages and salaries. They do not deal with other conditions of employment such as denial of opportunity. This law is enforced by the Department of Labor. In a series of successful court cases, the Government has won both strong interpretations of the law and large awards of back wages, predominantly for women.

Many victims of discrimination are unaware that they can take action. Some accept it out of fear of reprisal by their employer or because relief may be expensive and time-consuming. There are several avenues of relief. They do require action by the individual discriminated against, and the filing of a complaint under one law or regulation will not necessarily preclude filing a complaint under another. Beyond the complaint procedure prescribed by each law or set of regulations, there are additional avenues of redress in an employment discrimination case.

The most important of these are contained in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Complaints lodged with the

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), responsible for enforcing Title VII, have led to legal suits, negotiation and litigation of complaints, fines, Government-directed promotion programs, and widespread resolve on the part of employers, large and small, to avoid similar trouble in the future. The Commission, a major Federal protector and enforcer of nondiscrimination in employment, has jurisdiction to bring suit in private employment discrimination cases. The Justice Department enforces the law on behalf of the Federal Government. The Attorney General has authority to file suits charging discrimination on the part of State and local governments, and the EEOC may go to Federal court to enforce the law with regard to private employers. A broad segment of American business and industry is reached through this mechanism, since so many companies work on a contract basis with the Government. EEOC was created to investigate, resolve, and, if necessary, litigate complaints of alleged discrimination. It also encourages and helps employers establish voluntary compliance programs. During 1976, the EEOC received 90,709 complaints; of these, 26,808 were from women.

Several important cases have been litigated under Title VII. They have established important legal principles regarding sex discrimination and have impacted on employment opportunities for women and, in some cases, for men. In *Diaz* v. *Pan Am*, a man had applied for a position as an airline flight attendant. The airline rejected him, arguing that the requirement that all flight attendants be female was required by customer preference. The court ruled that an occupational qualification, to be bona fide, must be reasonably necessary for the normal operation of the job. Since the function of an airline is to transport persons, both sexes are equivalent to the task. Thus, sex has only been permitted as a "bona fide occupational qualification" in one instance, that of actors and actresses in order to achieve authenticity.

In *Phillips* v. *Martin Marietta*, a corporation hired no women with preschool children, claiming that this was not sex discrimination, as 80 percent of their employees were women and arguing that this was a reasonable distinction *among* women. No such requirement was placed on male employees. The court ruled that this constituted sex discrimination, on the principle that the use of sex plus another factor is no less discriminatory than sex alone.

Finally, in the case of *Pittsburgh Press* v. *Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations*, the Supreme Court found sex-segregated help-wanted newspaper advertising to be illegal. Although the newspaper argued that freedom of the press and free speech were protected by the Constitution, the Court found the want ads to constitute commercial speech (not protected by the Constitution) and discrimination in employment to constitute illegal commercial activity. The decision was significant in that sex-labeling does inhibit women from applying for jobs which they might otherwise be well qualified to perform.

One landmark decision involved the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. (AT&T), which employs some 800,000 people, 51 percent of them women. In a consent decree signed in January 1973, AT&T agreed to sweeping reforms in female hiring and promotion policies and agreed to pay $50 million in back pay to compensate victims of past bias. This decision has had a strong influence on corporate employment practices regarding women, according to most observers. Corporations today are seriously afraid of being taken to court, boycotted, or barred from multimillion-dollar Government contracts.

Executive orders issued by the Government have also been effective in breaking down patterns of bias. A 1965 Executive order prohibits discrimination in employment by most Federal contractors and subcontractors and by contractors who perform work under federally assisted construction grants. In 1967 the Executive order was amended to prohibit sex discrimination as well. The Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs coordinates and oversees contract compliance progress. A 1969 Executive order dealt with discrimination in the Federal Civil Service, and the 1972 amendments to Title VII strengthened the equal employment program for Federal employees. The Civil Service Act of 1883 permitted women to compete for Government jobs under the merit system, and the Classification Act of 1923 established uniform salary ranges. But it was not until 1962 that the U.S. Attorney General ruled invalid an 1870 law that had been interpreted as giving Federal agencies the option to specify men or women for higher Civil Service positions. The U.S. Civil Service Commission investigates and resolves complaints of alleged discrimination against Federal agencies. It also requires Federal agencies to establish and maintain affirmative action programs to prevent discrimination and to provide for prompt resolution of discrimination complaints.

6. An Economic and Social Agenda for Women

The U.S. National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year 1975 has pressed for a vigorous program to improve the economic position of women, warning that present worsening trends in women's unemployment, wages, and welfare dependence will continue and accelerate as more women enter the labor market. Most women in the labor force are affected by poor earnings and lack of security and benefits. Such issues as part-time work, employer-provided day care for children, time off for childrearing, flexible work schedules, and opportunities for advancement are all on the agenda for the future.

The IWY Commission recommended that the President seek congressional authority to create a Cabinet-level office in the executive branch of the Government to coordinate the variety of ad hoc bodies and programs scattered throughout the Government.

"Manifestations of sex discrimination are varied," the Commission said, "yet they are all derived from a stereotyped view of women as passive, dependent, and inferior. If women are to achieve full equality, then a systematic and coordinated effort must be made to seek out and eradicate sex discrimination, whatever its guise."

But whether this comes to pass or not, women's groups all over the country will pursue their goals in a piecemeal fashion, working through a complex legal and political system. This has been the American tradition. Reform seldom has been imposed from the top down or applied by a monolithic government. The Victor Fuchs article in the *Monthly Labor Review* for May 1974 (see p. 28) concluded that in future decades the labor force participation rate of women is likely to continue to rise, eventually approaching the male rate:

Although in the short run the increased labor force participation of women tends to depress their earnings, in the long run it will raise them. Because they will expect to be in the labor force for a significant portion of their adult lives, women will be more career-minded while attending school, choosing an occupation, and investing in themselves after they leave school. Employer expectations concerning continuity will also change, with important implications for job and training opportunities.

When labor force participation rates of women stabilize at a high level, new entrants will consist primarily of young women who will have been less exposed to role differentiation at home and in school than those now in the labor force. The increasing acceptance of women in a variety of occupations, the narrowing of sex differences in experience and post-school investment, and a continued shift away from the heavy manual jobs all auger well for women's earnings.

Fringe Benefits, Pensions, and Social Security

Nine out of 10 American workers are covered by Social Security, a system of social insurance enacted in the 1930's during the Roosevelt New Deal to provide certain retirement and other benefits for the mass of Americans. Many workers also are covered by private pension plans. Some of these are established and controlled by the employer. Some are negotiated with

unions in collective bargaining agreements. In "contributory" plans, the employee also pays into the fund. There are other plans where the employer provides the total input. At present more than 30 million workers are covered by private pension plans. These plans vary widely in the amount of benefits provided on retirement. Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, an employer may not discriminate between men and women with respect to fringe benefits such as medical, hospital, accident, life insurance, and retirement benefits. Benefits limited to "head of household" or "principal wage earner" would be discriminatory.

In the case of the Federal program for old age, disability, survivors, and health insurance for the aged and long-term disabled, a few sex-related differences in treatments continue to exist. Their number, however, has declined substantially due to legislative changes and court decisions. Most such differences were enacted to meet specific needs of, and to give additional protection for, women in areas where males were then presumed not to require similar protection. As an example, the benefit formula favored women by enabling them to drop 3 additional years of low earnings in computing their average earnings for benefit purposes. This was intended to compensate for the likelihood of broken earnings records for female workers due to absences from the work force for rearing families. The formula now has been changed to make it the same regardless of sex. A second example occurred in the case of a worker's surviving spouse caring for the worker's minor children. While a surviving wife in such circumstances was eligible for survivor benefits, no comparable benefit existed for a surviving husband. The Supreme Court of the United States held that, since the contributions made by a worker were the same regardless of sex, they should also yield the same benefits to the worker's survivors. To do otherwise would violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Constitution, the High Court said. Since this decision, some 7,000 dependent surviving husbands have become eligible for survivor's benefits based on their wives' work. A difference still exists, however. The surviving wife is presumed to have been dependent on her husband whereas the surviving husband is required to prove actual dependency.

Because of widow's benefits and the larger number of men working than women, more women than men receive social security benefits. (Most Government employees are covered under a separate system.) But women receive only 67 percent of the amount of benefits received by men, since their earnings are less and their worklife is usually interrupted. With greater opportunities for women, this is expected to decrease.

Women also receive smaller amounts of income from private pensions, annuities, and other sources such as alimony. Women represent 49 percent of persons receiving income from these other sources. The inequities of this system are underscored by the fact that so many families are headed by women. In March 1976, some 47.3 million families had both a husband and wife present, whereas 7.5 million families were headed by a woman alone. The median income of husband-wife families was $14,867 in 1975, compared with a median income of only $6,844 for families headed by a woman alone. In June 1976 the average monthly social security benefit of male retired workers totaled $229 a month; the comparable figure for women was $182.

Moves are now being made to change the law, as a result of changing attitudes reflecting recognition that women increasingly play dual roles as wage earners and homemakers and that their labor-force participation is commonly interrupted by childbearing and childraising.

Congressman Donald M. Fraser, Minnesota Democrat, whose wife Arvonne was a founder and former President of the Women's Equity Action League, has endorsed a concept that would give work in the home an economic value and make marriage an economic partnership. If Representative Fraser's bill is enacted, the lifelong housewife would be able to build her own social security record, and women in and out of the work force would be able to build up a steady record of earnings. A divorced wife could take a record of earnings with her from a marriage that lasted less than 20 years, which is impossible under present law. The Office of Child Support Enforcement, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has begun implementing a Commission recommendation that the Government collect data on the economic arrangements resulting from divorce. This data will indicate the extent to which the Government is involved in contributing to child support in default of parental support, especially that of fathers.

As a result of the women's movement, employer practices have improved greatly with respect to maternity leave. For many years employees of the Federal Government have been entitled to use sick leave, vacation leave, and leave without pay as necessary for childbirth and complications of pregnancy, and have been entitled to reemployment. Many private employers and State governments, however, had arbitrary rules governing maternity leave, and most did not

allow the same pay as for other temporary disabilities. Many provided no reemployment rights and some did not cover medical care for childbearing in their health insurance plans.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has ruled that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits any difference in the treatment of men's and women's disabilities. Under this guideline an employer can neither require a pregnant woman to take leave as long as she is able to work nor delay her return when she is able to work again. Health insurance coverage and temporary disability insurance cannot exclude or limit benefits for childbirth or other pregnancy-related disabilities, and reemployment must be provided on the same basis as for other disabilities. The courts almost unanimously have upheld the EEOC guidelines, except for the inclusion of maternity benefits in employer medical insurance plans. The EEOC also has held that any leave provided by an employer for childrearing must be equally available to men and women.

Legal and Economic Status of the Homemaker

There has been an intense examination of the laws affecting homemakers. Studies of dependent women and children receiving social security benefits have led to the conclusion that women who are not employed outside the home are the women most vulnerable and most discriminated-against in the society. The rhetoric about the value of the mother to the family has not been reflected in the law. Laws making the husband responsible for support protect creditors, not the homemaker. A wife cannot use these laws to require a husband to support her. In practice a woman whose husband refuses to support her can attempt to enforce her so-called right to support only through divorce or legal separation. The best evidence available indicates that alimony is awarded in only a small percentage of cases— possibly 10 percent or less— and that child support is usually less than half that needed to support the children. Furthermore, collection of alimony and child support is very difficult.

In some States, the courts have no authority in granting a divorce to divide property that the husband holds in his own name. In many other States, when the courts do divide property, the homemaker's contribution in the home is given no economic value. In some there is no authority in the courts to require the husband to carry insurance. Furthermore, over the last 40 years, some State laws relating to divorce have been amended in such a fashion as to erode the already inadequate protection of dependent spouses and children.

Most women do not know the facts concerning the lack of recognition accorded the homemaker's role in the legal system. The National Commission on Observance of International Women's Year, through its Committee on Homemakers, has attempted to raise consciousness by publicizing the facts for each State on the law of that State. The Senate Judiciary Committee, the most authoritative source for determining congressional intent by the courts, stated in a report on the Equal Rights Amendment that :

It is clear that the Amendment would not require both a husband and wife to contribute identical amounts of money to a marriage. The support obligation of each spouse would be defined in functional terms based, for example, on each spouse's earning power, current resources, and nonmonetary contribution to the family welfare . . . . where one spouse is the primary wage earner and the other runs the home, the wage earner would have the duty to support the spouse who stays at home in compensation for the performance of her or his duties.

Two types of laws fail to give proper attention to the contribution of the homemaker. They are laws providing for the disposition of property of persons who die intestate (without a will), and the laws providing a minimum share of the estate a widow is entitled to if her husband leaves a will that cuts her off with little or nothing. The IWY Commission recommended that when a person dies without a will the surviving spouse inherit all of the estate, where there are no children or children only of the decedent and surviving spouse. Where there are children of the decedent who are not also children of the surviving spouse, the Commission recommends that one-half of the estate go to the surviving spouse.

The traditional "forced share" of one-third may be equitable in some circumstances but not in many, the Commission said:

Suppose a farm wife has worked along with her husband for 30 years to make the farm a success, and he becomes senile and tries to leave her out of his will. Shouldn't she be entitled to the whole estate ? Any wife who has had a long marriage contributing to her husband's success is certainly entitled to as much as if he had died intestate. On the other hand, if a young woman has been married to a wealthy man only a few years and has squandered his wealth during that period, contributing nothing to his welfare or to acquisition of the money, should she receive as much as one-third?

Financial planning, estate planning, and knowledge of inheritance and probate laws are especially important to farm women. Farmers are vulnerable in these areas, Kathryn Clarenbach pointed out (see p. 32), because the assessed value of their property is high and their liquid cash reserves are usually low:

As the majority of women outlive their husbands, farm widows are faced with complicated estate questions. Indeed, estate taxes are often referred to as 'widow's taxes.' Inheritance tax laws of the federal government and most of the common law states do not credit unpaid labor of wives in determining ownership of property. Thus unless a widow can prove she made a cash contribution to the marriage or that she had inherited part of the farm, she is required to pay inheritance tax on 100 percent of 'her own' property — minus the standard deduction of $60,000. That deduction obviously makes much less difference when a farm is involved than it does for the average urban property. Proposals to provide greater equity are before a number of state legislatures with leadership from women legislators.

Day Care for Children of Working Mothers

Detailed current information is not available on the arrangements that working mothers now make for care of their children, but enough is known to provide an accurate description of the relative importance of the major types of care provided. It is clear that the largest number of preschool children of working mothers are cared for within the child's home by relatives or a nonrelative "babysitter." Next most common is care of such children in someone else's home, either the home of a relative or a nonrelative.

There has been a trend away from care in the child's own home toward licensed day-care centers or licensed family homes. In the past 12 to 15 years, the number of spaces in licensed centers or family homes has increased to a million from less than 200,000. Half of the licensed day-care slots are in private homes or proprietary centers, either one-center enterprises or part of a franchise or chain operation. The other half are in nonprofit centers under public, private, or voluntary auspices.

Feminists place adequate day-care facilities for children of working mothers high on their agenda of unfinished business. In 1971, President Nixon vetoed legislation—and President Ford did the same in 1976—that would have provided for day-care centers for many more children. Women's groups are pushing for recognition of the day–care problem as a national responsibility. Tax laws do not permit working parents to take much of a deduction for child-care costs, while business lunches for men are tax-deductible.

The Federal Government does spend $600 million annually, matched by $200 million from the States, on licensed day-care centers for about 900,000 children from poor families. For many working mothers and single-parent families, subsidized day care is a basic necessity. It allows many women to work who would otherwise be on welfare— a bargain for the public purse since welfare costs almost three times more than day care. According to a recent study, at least another 15 percent of women now on welfare would seek work if adequate child care were available.

Needs of the Elderly

Elderly women are becoming an increasing proportion of the American population. While the percentage of the U.S. population aged 65 and over was doubling from 1900 to 1974, the average lifespan of women increased from 48 years to 75 while for men the increase was smaller— from age 46 to 68. Government, business, social, and educational organizations increasingly are turning their attention to the needs of this growing population of elderly. Visiting housekeeper programs and protective services for the frail, as well as continuing education for those who are still in good health, are among these needs. The elderly also have a need for safety education and crime-prevention instruction in the cities, due to strained police protection capabilities.

Social Security provides health insurance for people over 65. This consists of hospital, post-hospital care, and home health services as well as payment of doctors' bills. Elderly women's health problems are complicated by low income discussed in the following sections.

Composition of the American Household

The Census Bureau defines "household" as including "all persons who occupy a single housing unit" and designates one person as the head of household. This is normally the husband. The head of household is designated as a woman in census reports only if there is no husband living in the household. Because of this policy,

it is impossible to ascertain from census data the number of households "headed" by women in the sense that their incomes provide the majority of support.

Census data do reveal, however, that in 1976 there were 10 million primary individual, female-headed households in the United States. In addition, 7 million containing two or more persons (families) were headed solely by women. Females comprised 18 million of the 73 million heads of households or 25 percent of the total. With each racial and ethnic group the figures differ markedly. According to the latest available figures, black women comprise 40 percent of all heads of households. Women head 22 percent of all white households. Puerto Rican women head 38 percent of households.

By marital status and household composition, there have been some striking changes on the American scene. In 1976, nearly 10.3 million women were living alone or with nonrelatives. This was an increase of 100 percent over 1960. Of the women living alone or with nonrelatives in 1976, 52 percent were over the age of 65 whereas in 1960, 45 percent were 65 or older. Between 1960 and 1970, therefore, the number of women 65 or older living alone or with nonrelatives increased 73 percent. But the largest proportional increase of women living alone or with nonrelatives occurred among women aged 20 to 34. These women constituted only a small proportion of all women living alone but their number more than doubled in that period. Of the total female population, some 57 percent are living with husbands. This means that 43 percent of the female population over the age of 14 are living without husbands. These percentages differ somewhat from group to group. Of all Spanish-speaking women, 55 percent are married compared to 41 percent for blacks and 49 percent for white women.

Large numbers of women in private household employment are economically depressed. They are entitled to receive the Federal minimum wage, currently $2.30 an hour, under the 1974 Fair Labor Standards Act and to receive overtime compensation. But this law is not effectively enforced. Nor is the 25-year-old statute extending social security coverage to domestic workers. There are between 1.5 million and 2.5 million workers in domestic employment. Of this group, 98 percent are female. The latest census reports indicate that a majority— 65–80 percent— are black, and that increasing numbers of Latin American and American Indian women are entering domestic service. Many are heads of households and responsible for dependents. They work without paid sick leave, holidays, vacations, retirement plans, and other benefits most Americans take for granted. Job security is minimal at best.

Poverty Among Women

Because they are at an economic disadvantage, a larger percentage of female-headed than male-headed families live below the poverty line. In 1975, some 33 percent of these families lived in poverty, as compared to 6 percent of the families headed by men. The rate of poverty was even higher for female minorities who headed families, as the table below indicates. By the same token, women receive the largest percentage of public assistance or welfare payments. They constituted 79 percent of all persons receiving such income in 1975.

TABLE 6

1975 Female Heads Of Household

Racial/ethnic group	*Families headed by women*	*Female-headed families in poverty*
White	11%	26%
Black	36%	50%
Mexican American	17%	58%
Puerto Rican	37%	60%

Female heads of families increased by 34 percent in the last decade.

Consumer Credit, Mortgages, and Rental Loans

Another area where many women have suffered discrimination over the years is access to credit. Congress has now enacted legislation making it unlawful for any creditor to discriminate against any applicant on the basis of sex or marital status with respect to any credit transaction. These laws will assist women to achieve economic equality with men. Several Federal agencies are responsible for enforcement of the Consumer Credit Protection Act as amended in 1974. The Equal Credit Opportunity Act, as it is called, went into effect in the fall of 1975.

This law forbids any creditor— individual, bank, credit union, loan company, corporation, or others who regularly extend, renew, or continue credit— from discriminating in the granting of credit. Examples of the kinds of outlawed discrimination include the setting of higher income requirements for loans to women than men by a bank or credit union, or a furniture store requiring that a married woman have her husband's signature on an installment sales contract but not requiring a man to include his wife's signature. Creditors may not discourage applicants for credit on the basis of sex, prohibit persons from opening or maintaining an account in their birth-given surname or a combined surname, or prohibit spouses from maintaining separate credit accounts with the same creditor. When an individual's name or marital status has changed, a creditor may not require reapplication, change the terms of the account, or terminate the account— unless evidence of unwillingness or inability to repay exists or the credit application was based solely on the other spouse's income, alimony, child support, or maintequesting any information on an applicant's spouse or former spouse unless the spouse will be allowed to use the account or is contractually liable on the account, or if the applicant is relying on community property, the spouse's income, alimony, child support, or maintenance payments for repayment of a loan. Creditors also may not request information about birth control practices or childbearing intentions or capability. Within a reasonable time after receiving an application, creditors must notify applicants of the action taken on their application, and upon request must provide applicants who are denied credit, or individuals whose accounts are terminated, with the reasons for the action.

Other laws forbid discrimination in mortgage loans or access and control of facilities and services relating to the sale or rental of dwellings. Refusal to consider the combined income of a wife and husband in extension of mortgage credit is outlawed.

Women and Crime—Myths and Reality

A couple of years ago, the press published some sensational articles on the rapid rise in the female arrest rate, inferring that there had been an increase in violent female crime. At the same time, claims were made that women were becoming more dangerous and that there was a connection with the growth of the women's rights movement. The statistics behind these pronouncements were contained in the 1972 Uniform Crime Reports issued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Based on 2,430 law enforcement agency records, the FBI report showed that crimes and arrests among women had escalated at a rate of 277.9 percent since 1960. The increase for male crime between 1960 and 1972 was 87.9 percent. In reality, women offenders accounted for 10 percent of violent crime and this proportion has remained constant over the last 20 years. Actually, the high point in female violence came in the mid-1950's before the women's movement got underway. At that time, women accounted for more than 13 percent of all violent crime. Today's figure is one-third lower. Also, in the past decade or so, crime detection methods improved so that female arrest rates for certain types of nonviolent crimes went up dramatically. The bulk of the female crime increase was in economically motivated property offenses, such as embezzlement, larceny, burglary, forgery, and fraud. Often offenses were related to drug addiction and abuse. One expert told the IWY Commission: "The typical female offender has not committed murder or robbery. . . . she is a small scale petty thief often motivated by a poor self-image and the desire for immediate economic gain." A potent factor operating here could be the decline of real income for women from 60 percent of men's earnings in 1969 to 58.8 percent in 1975, the Commission suggested. In addition, women are facing certain unemployment when, often the last hired at equal opportunity workplaces, they are the first fired under conventional seniority systems, or other reduction-in-force measures.

Arrest figures do not reflect population increases, the absence of males during the Vietnam occupation, or the effect of inflation, which has pushed the cost of many stolen articles into the felony range.

When incarcerated, women offenders receive far less vocational training or job placement assistance than men. But unlike their male counterparts, for whom education and work-release programs are generally available, many women in penal institutions are responsible for children. "And upon release, these women must often resume sole support for their children," said the IWY Commission. "Without sound vocational training, the returning mother struggles hard to provide and a simple theft begins to look easy." Furthermore, laws in several States call for longer sentencing for female offenders than for males for the same offense. Cases upholding disparate legislative sentencing schemes based on sex have reasoned that, compared

with male criminals, females were more amenable and responsive to rehabilitation and reform. These arguments have been used to justify longer confinement for women.

The Women's Rights Program Unit of the Civil Rights Commission has pointed out that few facilities are available for women drug addicts. Women are included in some drug treatment programs but others do not accept women at all. In addition, the rehabilitated woman addict is largely invisible. She still suffers from the stigma which society attaches to "bad" women. The double standard is operative here when the rehabilitated male often becomes a kind of folk hero. If the rehabilitated female has been a prostitute, she will never be even as socially acceptable as the rehabilitated male addict/ex-convict. And although prostitution is defined as a crime for both the male customer and the female prostitute, police usually arrest only the woman. In addition, the woman is often harassed on the street or entrapped. Many persons have proposed that prostitution be eliminated from criminal codes, in view of the fact that the law has not been enforced equitably with regard to prostitutes and clients and that prostitution per se is a victimless crime.

Women as Victims of Crime

At the same time, when women are victims of crimes such as domestic violence (physical assault by a husband or boyfriend), the police often fail to respond, take a long time to respond, or trivialize the complaint. Police officers are often reluctant to "interfere" because of the high rate of police injuries incurred on such calls. Between 1961 and 1970, for example, one-sixth of all police deaths occurred during responses to domestic violence calls. Police officers often state that they do not take such complaints seriously because the women often do not press charges. However, many women decline to press charges because the legal remedies are often time-consuming, costly, and ineffective, and because there is no guarantee of protection from further assaults. The result of such inaction is serious. In California in 1971, 33 percent of all female murder victims had been murdered by their husbands. A study by the Kansas City Police Department in 1970-71 found that in 50 percent of domestic homicide cases police had been summoned five or more times before the murder occurred.

In response to this problem, many attorneys in the women's movement are pressing for appropriate legal reform, and concerned women are creating "shelters," group homes that can serve as "safe havens" for abused women, many of whom cannot remove themselves from dangerous situations since they have literally nowhere to go. Efforts to achieve economic independence are especially meaningful to battered women. This includes battered wives, many of whom remain with an assaulting husband out of concern for their children and because they have no marketable job skills or experience.

Juvenile Offenders

Young girls suffer from discrimination in the courts when charged with status offenses — conduct that would not be criminal if committed by adults. Running away from home, truancy from school, incorrigibility, and sexual delinquency are three primary offenses with which girls are charged. They are not only more likely to be referred to courts and detained for such offenses, they are also held longer than boys referred for such conduct. One midwestern study of more than 800 juvenile court referrals found that 28 percent of the boys had been brought to court for "unruly offenses," compared with 52 percent of the girls. At a juvenile detention home, a coeducational youth facility, girls on the average stayed there three times as long as boys. Such discrimination based on the sex status of offenders traditionally has been upheld in the courts on grounds of "reasonableness." Only since 1970 have some State laws permitting longer sentences for females than males been found in contravention of the "due process" and "equal protection" clauses of the Constitution. In recommending sweeping reforms aimed at eliminating inequities, more help and counseling for girls, and removal of such offenses from the jurisdiction of juvenile courts, the Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year said:

> The courts' traditional attitude reflects society's sexual double standard, which has demanded that the traditional American family exert greater control over their daughters' behavior in order to protect virginity (or virginal reputation). The 'good' adolescent female is never sexual, although she must be sexually appealing. Compared to the teenage male, she has a much narrower range of acceptable sexual behavior. As a result, even minor deviance may be seen as a substantial challenge to society and the present system of sexual inequality. Promiscuous young women are found to be unpalatable. The young man gets a wink and look in the opposite direction.

Family Planning

In the United States, family planning has gradually come to be recognized as a right to which every person is entitled, rather than a privilege for those who can afford it. Voluntary family planning consists of medical, social, and educational services which enable individuals to decide the number and spacing of their pregnancies. It means controlling one's own fertility voluntarily.

There have been steady advances in the legal rights of women to control reproduction and in the availability of family planning and counseling for women. In 1960, it was still illegal in some States for a physician to provide contraceptives to married couples. Now women have a constitutional right to be free of interference by the government with respect to contraception and with respect to abortion during the first trimester of pregnancy. During the 1960's, many States began to recognize family planning as an important health service. In a number of States, legislative actions authorized health and welfare departments at State and local levels to provide family-planning services and, in a few, funds were appropriated to support programs. By October 1966 public policies on family planning were formalized in the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and at least 30 States as a result of actions by State legislatures and/or State health or welfare departments.

In 1967 Congress adopted amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act to make family planning a "special emphasis" program. Also amended were the Child Health Act to earmark no less than 6 percent of maternal and child health funds for family planning and the Social Security Act to require that family-planning services be provided to appropriate recipients of public assistance. In 1970, Congress adopted the Family Planning Services and Population Research Act which, for the first time, provided a separate authorization for support of family-planning services. In a landmark decision in early 1973, the Supreme Court ruled that a government could not interfere with a woman's decision to have an abortion in the first trimester of pregnancy, except to require that the abortion be performed by a physician licensed by the State. In the second trimester, the States may impose only those restrictions reasonably related to maternal health.

Freedom from forced sterilization is another aspect of reproductive choice. While coerced sterilization ultimately denies women the right to choose to procreate, restrictions on the right of abortion have the opposite effect by denying women the right to terminate unwanted pregnancies. Sterilization and abortion thus represent the two ends of the spectrum of reproductive choice. Some social research has been done on both subjects. The Civil Rights Commission has recommended that no constitutional amendments or legislation be enacted which would limit or undermine the right to abortion.

Congress has attempted to restrict the Supreme Court's decision affirming women's constitutional right to abortion by curtailing the use of Federal funds for abortions, and the Supreme Court has recently ruled that Federal and State governments are not required to fund abortions for poor women. The Commission study will ascertain the impact of the restricted availability of abortions upon low-income women who might be required to return to using illegal and unsafe methods of abortion if denied State-supported assistance.

Family-planning services funded by the Federal Government must offer a comprehensive range of services, including contraceptive supplies, physicial examinations at regular intervals, basic medical tests, counseling and educational services, and referral to other services for medical and social needs as they arise. There is confusion between the terms "family planning" and "population control." It is important to note that these two terms are not synonymous in the United States. Family planning, as defined in the United States, is a voluntary health service closely tied to reducing infant and maternal mortality and morbidity, and to strengthening family health and stability. Voluntary family-planning services are not linked to any national concern about the rate and effects of population growth. The term "planned parenthood" has multiple meanings, encompassing the basic concepts that it is possible to have children when one desires them; that it is desirable to conceive children only when one wishes them and in full awareness of one's responsibility in doing so; and that methods for achieving the goals are available. As a corollary, the term also includes services for diagnosing and treating involuntarily childless couples. Synonymous terms used interchangeably are "family planning" and "responsible parenthood." The terms "birth control" and "contraception" are narrowly applied to the practical means used to achieve planned parenthood.

By June 30, 1973, some form of organized, subsidized family planning services was available to residents in 2,625 of the 3,074 counties. As a result of these policies, the fertility rate has been decreasing steadily

since 1965 and has now gone below zero-population-growth level. The rate is down for all races and economic levels. New improved methods of contraception, legal abortion, a tendency toward marriage and childrearing at later ages, changes in the role of women, and a general concern with environment and overpopulation have apparently contributed to the down turn.

7. Future Perspectives for Women

Women in America have gained a new self-confidence and a new assertiveness from winning changes in reluctant institutions over the last decade or so. They were able to have an influence because the time was right. Basic conditions of life had changed. Women had more time free from childrearing and housework because they could expect to live close to three-quarters of a century. They could look forward to a longer life after bearing and raising children. Family planning had enabled women to determine the number and spacing of children, thus affording them more time for other activities. Because of technological developments in labor-saving devices, they could attend to household work in less time.

New attitudes are particularly evident among young women who are marrying later, having fewer children, and insisting on full partnership with their husbands in marriage and childrearing. There are differences of opinion among women. Some are adamantly opposed to what they call "women's liberation." Others would like to emphasize the role of woman as homemaker. But there is also an esprit de corps in a broadly based women's movement which reflects these actual changes in living conditions and options.

The Bureau of the Census of the U.S. Department of Commerce in April 1976 published the first comprehensive census report on women. This is a landmark step in documenting the degree to which women are integrated in the social and economic life of the country. Increasingly, the male establishment as well as individual men are becoming aware that working women are rapidly altering the society.

In April 1977, for example, the president of the philanthropic Carnegie Foundation of New York, Alan Pifer, said that a study should be conducted "of the entire structure of work and family life as it affects women, men and children." In the foundation's 1976 *Annual Report,* Pifer urged the government and industry to take stock of the ways in which increasing participation of women in the paid work force was bringing about largely unnoticed changes in the home and the world of work. A study is needed, he said, in order to develop policies that would "encourage . . . greater occupational equality and freedom of choice for men and women" and a better integration of family, education and work life. What is needed is greater "flexibility in life patterns so that men and women can alternate periods of study, employment, work in the home and leisure throughout their life span." The trend toward greater participation in the labor force is creating strains on family and marital ties, Pifer said, but it also has provided the Nation with an opportunity to rethink and revise its attitudes toward these relationships. Calling for national day-care and after-school care arrangements for families where both spouses hold jobs, the foundation executive said the only alternative to progress toward a "new society" would be "to incur the immeasurable cost of doing nothing."

Influence of the Media

In an age of instantaneous communications, the media have enormous impact on the formation and reinforcement of behavior and attitudes. Increasingly, women have become more concerned about the limiting portrayal of them by television, radio, newspapers, and magazines. Women rarely are portrayed accurately in entertainment programming or advertising. News relating to women is still seriously underreported despite progress in some areas. When women's ac-

tivities *are* covered, news items are usually segregated, subordinated, or ridiculed. Furthermore, women constitute 25-35 percent of all people in the media and only 5 percent of the policymakers.

The Federal Communications Commission employment figures for 1975 show that women held 26.3 percent of the positions in the broadcast industry. In the top four job categories — managers, professionals, sales, and technicians — females were in only 13.1 percent of the positions, an increase of 1.5 percent from the previous year.

In television advertising, women's fulfillment appears to come only from washing dishes, typing, or changing babies' diapers. The media's failure to include minorities and women in a variety of roles not only projects a distorted picture of the world but also bolsters the viewer's biases about minorities and women. Strides are beginning to be made with regard to women, but it is still difficult to turn on the television set without seeing a voluptuous woman selling something. Women are still cast in the role of sex objects and sex sells.

The IWY Commission concluded:

The consequences of a distorted image of women by the media are serious and far reaching. The average school girl spends more time watching television than she spends in the classroom. Her models, her perceptions of her potential are heavily influenced, especially by television. She is reminded repeatedly of presumed faults and limitations. In the same way, the self-image even of adult women can be shaken or reinforced by what they read and see. Media distortion is more than academically interesting. It can do immediate, serious psychic damage to the women and men who are exposed to it. It is the means by which an archaic destructive image of women becomes self-perpetuating.

The media have been analyzed at length by a variety of women's groups at the local, regional, and national levels. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has compiled comprehensive reports on the image of white and minority women in American television and textbooks. These reports review and evaluate all literature on this topic. Since 1972, the number of monitoring projects, content-analysis studies, legal actions, demonstrations, media change organizations, and conferences on the media has risen dramatically. Some progress is being made to correct media distortion of women's images. With awareness of the problems, steps are being taken to change the image of women in the media and to portray women as multidimensional people with as wide a range of capacities as men. Textbooks are being revised and employment practices modified. As myths about women's presumed limitations are being discredited, women's perceptions of themselves are changing. Women have become more concerned with their limiting portrayal and employment in the media. The dissatisfaction of the coverage of women by the mass media is reflected by an increase in the number of media businesses founded by women.

Innovative Approaches to Change

In addition to insuring enforcement of new laws, proposing new approaches to the problems of poverty, and working toward new domestic-relations laws recognizing marriage as a full partnership, the women's movement will attempt to bring more women into positions of power and influence. From academia to the courts, change is coming and the coalescing of women's organizations in both the private and public sectors has assured forward movement. The key to the future of the movement, according to many observers, is in building alliances. Greater strength and power can be achieved through coalitions which are already forming. The implicit goal of such coalitions is to help women work together across organizational, cultural, racial, and economic boundaries to combat sexism and sex discrimination. This challenge involves maximizing the combined strength of the numerous feminist groups to encompass the more traditional women's groups. Women realize that if they are to achieve their goals they must join forces.

In the last 6 or 7 years, almost every professional organization has organized a women's "caucus" to examine the degree of discrimination women experience in their chosen careers. A caucus of women members of Congress recently has been formed. New women's rights organizations also have been created, both within the executive branch of the Government and in the private sector, to deal with continuing discriminatory regulations, practices, and attitudes limiting women's roles. These organizations have carried out extensive research and have held meetings and conferences to heighten awareness and apply pressure for change.

There are many opportunities for women to influence the development of policy in the public and private sectors by their participation in the electoral process and in legislative bodies, government departments, and advisory and corporate boards. Women exert influence on the public-policy process through a variety of role as voters, organizers and members of

public pressure groups, writers, and commentators. Governmental bodies are often responsive to demands from citizens, through congressional hearings, public meetings, surveys, and the media.

Nonetheless, few women are represented in the highest ranks of government. The Governor of one State (Connecticut) and the Lieutenant-Governors of two other States are women. Two of the dozen members of the U.S. Cabinet are women. Nineteen women serve among the 435 members of the U.S. House of Representatives. At present there are no women among the 100 members of the Senate, although there have been in the past. Of the thousands of policy positions at all levels of government, those held by women number only in the hundreds. A 1975 study conducted by Rutgers University showed that in 39 States, 53 percent of all State boards and commissions had no women members, and women are less likely to be members of small boards.

In 1976, of the 398 authorized U.S. district judgeships and 97 authorized judgeships of the U.S. Court of Appeals, women were serving actively in only five. Only 10 women have been appointed to the Federal Bench in the 200 years of U.S. history. No woman has ever been appointed to the Supreme Court. In 1975, out of 3,799 U.S. Government delegates to international conferences, meetings, working groups, and councils, only 150, or 4 percent, were women.

In some Federal agencies, as a result of actions by women employees and enlightened management representatives, regulations have been modified to eliminate sexist language and guarantee equal treatment. One of the more innovative actions taken by women's organizations is that of monitoring the "affirmative action" plans of Federal agencies. The organizations range from militant to moderate, some working within the system to effect change, others filing class-action suits on behalf of women. One effective method used by a national organization, Federally Employed Women, has been to keep records on the hiring and promotion practices of the Federal agencies. Annual visits are made to the Federal agencies to collect data and statistics. The results are published to encourage agencies to carry out the laws of the land.

Within the Federal Government structure, innovative approaches to achieve greater equity in all areas for women are being undertaken. For example, "bridge-type" assignments have been developed to enable women in clerical jobs to move into professional positions. This involves retraining in some instances to allow employees to acquire new skills and expertise. Many agencies have held workshops on career planning and "assertiveness training." This training is structured to instill in both men and women a stronger self-image as well as improve specific managerial skills. This furthers the objective of "upward mobility."

Women in the Political Process

Women's participation in politics has been discussed ever since women were given the franchise in 1920. The 19th amendment to the Constitution granted women the right to vote just as the 15th amendment had given the right to vote to freed male slaves. Follow up measures, however, were voted in the early 1960's to help blacks register and vote and overcome reprisals they experienced in the South.

Women's participation in the political system is limited not by law or reprisals but by the lingering effects of presuffrage ideas about a woman's "place." Recently women have begun to seize the challenge without legislative assistance. New York Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, a black, said in her book, *"Unbought and Unbossed,* that it was time for women to stop making coffee and cake for party socials and start making decisions. Her election to the House of Representatives in 1968 presaged an era in which women have moved more aggressively into the political arena.

Despite the growing political maturity of women, public opinion polls reveal that a great percentage of Americans still view political office as a field reserved for men. Women may take an interest in the public life, but they will find the going difficult. Women still hold only 5 percent of all public offices, although they are frequently the major source of responsible volunteer labor in local and State political campaigns. Slightly more men than women vote in elections, and more women register to vote than actually do vote. Yet in 1972, there were more women of voting age (72,370,000) than men (63,833,000) so that, if all eligible women voted, they would have a considerable edge over men with resulting ability to affect policy.

Although the phenomenon of lower female voter registration and voting has been discussed, a thorough analysis of issues within the context of controlled research has not been made. Not enough attention has been paid to barriers to participation of women as voters, elected officials, and party leaders.

It is well known that women candidates have difficulty obtaining funds to run an election campaign. All studies support the fact that they have more difficulty than men and that this is a chief obstacle to running for office. The National Women's Political Caucus was organized in 1971 to respond to the needs of women seeking elective office and to encourage and support women who wish to do so. Because of its own fundraising problems, the activities of the caucus have been limited. The plain fact is that women continue to be underrepresented in the mainstream of American politics.

The Equal Rights Amendment

Actions at the State and Federal levels have gone a long way toward providing relief from discriminatory practices. But they are piecemeal in nature and limited in scope. In theory, the language of the 5th (1791) "due process" and 14th (1868) "equal protection of the laws" amendments to the Constitution is broad enough to insure equality of men and women before the law. The Constitution has been subject to successful reinterpretations in the quest to secure political, social, and civil rights for all citizens. Legal measures have been brought into question and changed, and new legislation has been enacted to provide economic and social security benefits. Enforcement and affirmative-action bodies have sought to bring reality to the legal framework. They have contributed to changes in attitudes, policies, and practices. In addition, more attention is being given to the removal of sex-role stereotyping. But historically, the 19th amendment was necessary to give women the right to vote. The Supreme Court has cast strong doubt on the constitutionality of most laws differentiating on the basis of sex. It has not ruled, however, that sex, like race, is a "suspect" classification.

Ambiguity concerning the status of women under the Constitution resulted in a proposed Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) under which "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." ERA would create a uniform national standard and mandate for legislative reform, because it would establish the principle of equality as applied to all laws. It would not apply to private actions not covered by laws. Once the Equal Rights Amendment is adopted, laws providing for the separation of the sexes would also be invalidated, except as such laws maintain the public interest or the individual's right to privacy. In the case of public restrooms, for example, the individual's right to privacy would take precedence.

Under the ERA, laws conferring a benefit or obligation on one sex would be revised to cover both sexes. This would include, for example, extending to men the benefits of protective labor legislation, such as those which provide lounge facilities and rest periods for women workers only. Laws that provide alimony and child support to the wife in a divorce settlement would be revised so that the criterion for granting such support would be the ability of each spouse to make such payments, rather than the individual's sex. Laws that restrict opportunity to one sex, and thus deny opportunity to the other sex, would be invalidated. "Domicile" laws in many States, which prohibit a wife from maintaining a legal residence different from that of her husband and thus limit her ability to register to vote, would not be allowed.

Laws creating age distinctions on the basis of sex — such as those that define legal adulthood differently on the basis of sex, or establish a different age of consent to marry without parental permission for women and men — would be unconstitutional. Laws that distinguish between women and men on the basis of alleged physical differences, such as those preventing women from engaging in military combat, also would be invalidated by the ERA, unless such laws were based on characteristics that exclusively apply to one sex. Laws governing the determination of paternity, for example, would not be invalidated.

The proposed amendment was adopted by overwhelming majorities of both Houses of Congress and was submitted to the States for ratification in March 1972. A three-fourths majority of the 50 States must ratify the amendment before it becomes law. Passage of the amendment resulted from the effort of a coalition of women's organizations, unions, churches, and other organizations concerned with human rights. Similar coalitions in each State have secured ratification by 35 of the necessary 38 State legislatures. The Supreme Court has said that ratification of an amendment must be within "some reasonable time after the proposal," and even though no determination has been made as to how long a "reasonable time" might extend, several amendments, including ERA, have a 7-year period for ratification. This is a difficult process and the amendment has run into organized opposition in many places. Often that opposition perceives or argues that women benefit from their current legal status.

International Women's Year

Designation by the United Nations of 1975 as International Women's Year (IWY) provided a catalyst for action. The first IWY workshop held by the Federal Government focused attention on the need to integrate women into national economies through the bilateral Foreign Assistance Program. A direct outgrowth of this workshop was an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973. The amendment, sponsored by Senator Charles H. Percy of Illinois, called for particular attention to be given to programs, projects, and activities that tend to integrate women into national economies, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort in countries to which the United States gives economic assistance.

The President established a National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year to examine the conditions of life and the status of U.S. women and recommended future governmental and nongovernmental action. On July 1, 1976 the IWY Commission issued its report on the status of women in the United States (*"...To Form a More Perfect Union..." Justice for American Women)* with recommendations to the President on women. The text contains actual case histories to describe those clusters of problems which are the greatest barriers to equal participation of women in all aspects of U.S. life and decisionmaking.

At the U.N. Conference in Mexico City celebrating International Women's Year in 1975, the World Plan of Action was adopted. The Plan provides the framework in which governments and individuals can achieve the primary goal: full equality for men and women. Armed with a clear mandate to implement the spirit and intent of the Plan, the IWY Commission began its work to identify the unmet social and economic needs of women in the United States and formed committees that paralleled many of the target areas outlined in the World Plan of Action. After nearly 12 months' study of women's issues, these committees drafted 115 specific recommendations addressed to Federal or State governments or major social institutions.

Government agencies were asked to analyze the World Plan of Action in terms of its relevance to all their ongoing policies and programs. They were further asked to develop specific 5-year goals in such areas as equal access to education, employment opportunities, and increased participation of women in policymaking positions at all levels. As a first step in developing these goals, a Governmental task force undertook a survey of Government programs to ascertain where women stand as beneficiaries and potential beneficiaries. The inspiration for this innovative approach to Federal programming came from a U.S.-sponsored resolution at the Mexico City Conference calling upon the United Nations to assess its programs and activities in terms of their impact on women. Each constituent agency on the task force was asked to examine a representative sampling of its programs, in terms of their impact upon women. Alternative programs were to be proposed if the findings were negative.

Serious deficiencies were found in data collection and analysis in all Government agencies. To correct this situation, the IWY Commission recommended to the President that all Federal agencies be required to collect, tabulate, crosstabulate, and analyze data relating to persons by sex, ethnicity, race, and where appropriate, by age, income, and other indicators of disadvantaged conditions. Impact evaluation reports indicated that this special IWY effort allowed only a preliminary glimpse of a complicated array of issues relating to women which should be addressed as part of each agency's ongoing policy review.

Another task force recommendation, adopted by the IWY Commission, was that the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) require the departments and agencies of the Federal Government to continue to consider the impact of their programs on women in the United States. It further recommended that the OMB include an evaluation of these assessments in the regular budget and program review processes of the Government.

The life of the Commission has been extended until early 1978. After organizing State, regional, and national conferences to assess the progress made by the public and private sectors in promoting equality between men and women, it will report its findings to the President and the Congress. Former U.S. Congresswoman Bella Abzug of New York has been named Chairperson by the Carter administration and is leading this effort.

American Women and the World Scene

This review has shown that major advances in the status of women in America have resulted from scientific and technological developments. Thanks to medical science and improved nutrition, women live longer and few die in childbirth. By the age of 35, the average American woman has her last child in school and has 40 or more years of life ahead of her. Contraceptive methods make it possible for parents to plan the size of families. Couples can have the number of children they want and no more. They can be reasonably assured that their children will survive and reach adulthood. It is no longer economically necessary to have a large number of children to provide for one's old age. Changes taking place in the United States and other industrialized nations have implications for the rest of the world. In spite of historical, cultural, and social differences, all women share certain problems — International Women's Year discussions made that clear. It brought more sharply into focus the fact that the women's movement is worldwide and that women can benefit from sharing their experiences. The Mexico City Conference in 1975 emphasized the need for each U.N. member state to strengthen the partnership between men and women in all fields of development. It was recognized that there is need for changes in attitudes, including the attitudes of women about their role in society.

Attitudes, laws, and customary practices pertaining to women's rights and responsibilities are beginning to change everywhere at a time when global diplomacy is also being redefined. In a general way, foreign relations between nations prior to World War II primarily consisted of negotiations and enforcement of treaties of peace, friendship, commerce, and navigation, and the protection of citizens abroad through consular activities. In the last few decades, multilateral diplomacy has related more and more to global issues. Food production and distribution are high on the agenda for international action. The impact of unchecked population growth, use and conservation of natural resources, protection of the natural environment, development of energy resources, exploration of the sea and space, and human rights — these are some of the problems requiring international solutions. Women increasingly will be involved in their own countries in shaping national policies. Through the international network established by the U.N. Conference in 1975, women will also work across national boundaries to influence the resolution of these issues. If unfettered by legal or attitudinal restrictions, the women's movement has the potential to bring about a true partnership between men and women in raising living standards and promoting justice and peace throughout the world.

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